

THE ARMY SCHOOLMASTER AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE ARMY, 1812-1920

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for
the Doctor of Philosophy, Institute of Education,
University of London



ABSTRACT

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It may appear to be somewhat incongruous that the Army, whose primary function has been to prepare for war, should have been one of the earliest advocates of organized elementary education. Yet its importance is something the Army has long recognized. Soon after the Restoration in 1660, and perhaps even before, some regiments engaged masters to instruct their soldiers and also their offspring. Over the next 150 years an increasing number of commanding officers appointed a suitable NCO to act as schoolmaster to the regiment, before the reforms of 1812 compelled them to do so. In 1846 civilians also became eligible to enlist as Army schoolmasters. Together they became members of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters which survived for nearly three-quarters of a century.

This thesis considers the role of the Army schoolmaster, his training and conditions of service, with particular reference to the period 1812 to 1920. Although not a comparative study it notes, where relevant, developments in the field of civilian elementary education. It does not consider the Army schoolmistress, who taught the infants, except when her work impinges upon that of the schoolmaster; this subject has been the focus of another study.

The thesis is divided into three sections. The opening section is essentially a chronological account of, first, the origins and development of Army education up to and including the formation of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters in 1846 and, second, the system of training for that Corps provided throughout the period. The second section considers the variety of pupils that the Army schoolmaster was required to instruct and his responsibilities for the formal education of adults and older children. It also considers his work in the field of informal educational activities; the organizational framework in which he operated and the system of inspection; and, finally, his status and conditions of service. The third section considers the role of the Army

schoolmaster during the First World War and how, as a result of that conflict, an enlarged Army Educational Corps, with a wider remit, superseded the Corps of Army Schoolmasters in 1920.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank everyone who has helped me in the preparation of this thesis. In particular, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor P Gordon, Department of History, Humanities and Philosophy, Institute of Education, University of London, who supervised my research work and guided me towards its completion, and to my father, Professor Colin Smith, for his continual advice and encouragement.

I wish to thank the Commandant, Royal Army Educational Corps Centre, Wilton Park, Beaconsfield (re-titled College of Military Education and Training Services, in 1992); the Chaplain-General and his staff at the Royal Army Chaplains' Department Centre, Bagshot Park, Surrey, and The Revd Ian Pearson, archivist for the National Society's records at South Bermondsey, London, for so willingly placing their archival material at my disposal. I am also indebted to Mrs J Blacklaw, MOD Library, London and to the staff of Prince Consort's Library, Aldershot. Finally, I would like to thank Colonel Colin Davies for painstakingly reading the final draft, and the staff of the Headquarters, Director Educational and Training Services(Army), for their endless patience in the typing of this thesis.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAG	Assistant Adjutant-General
AEC	Army Educational Corps
AG	Adjutant-General
AGC(ETS)	Adjutant-General's Corps (Educational & Training Services)
CIGS	Chief of the Imperial General Staff
CME	Council of Military Education
DGME	Director-General of Military Education
GHQ	General Headquarters
GOC	General Officer Commanding
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PRO	Public Record Office
RA Ch D	Royal Army Chaplains' Department
RAEC	Royal Army Educational Corps
RHMS	Royal Hibernian Military School
RMA	Royal Military Asylum
SRO	Scottish Record Office
WO	War Office
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

CHAPTER 1: THE ARMY TRADITION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

There was a time when Mars and Minerva were complete strangers but that was long ago. The modern origins of their relationship can be traced back to the Civil War, when Cromwell encouraged the study of the Bible and other religious works as a means of rallying his soldiers behind the cause. Soon after the Restoration of Charles II and the formation of a Regular Army in 1660, the existence of schools and schoolmasters in that organization was evidence that a firm union between education and the Army had been forged.

As the records show, regimental schools for the education of both the soldier and his children have long existed in the Army, thus reflecting the importance it has attached to education. These schools originally came under the overall control of an NCO, who taught the soldiers, 'enlisted boys' and children of the regiment. Growing up unofficially in the seventeenth century, these schools had become an accepted institution by the late - eighteenth century, their success, indeed their very existence, depending upon the attitude of the commanding officer to education as well as his generosity. Although the military authorities were well aware of the existence of these schools it was not until the early nineteenth century, as a result of the far-sightedness of a few senior officers, and in particular the Duke of York, the then Commander-in-Chief, that the regimental school at long last became officially recognized and supported by the authorities.

The aim of this chapter is to trace the development of elementary education in the Army up to and including the reforms of 1812, and to consider why commanding officers, and later the military authorities themselves, considered it necessary to establish schools for the education of the soldier and his children. It should be remembered that the Army was and is not a formal educational establishment and so if education is to develop within it some utilitarian benefit must accrue from its activities. Consequently, its growth is found to be linked closely with military requirements. During the eighteenth

century the administrative and training needs of the Army began to demand literate and numerate NCOs as well as more self-reliant men. Increasingly commanding officers, who have always been responsible for the training, discipline and efficiency of their units, found the answer in the provision of regimental schools and schoolmasters. The origins of Army education can, however, be traced back to the seventeenth century and to the Civil War.

The origins of Army education

At the outset of the Civil War both sides had to improvise an army from men without any real training. Although each side had a nucleus of professional officers and soldiers on which to draw, both called on the 'trained bands' of the counties in order to fill the ranks. But many of these men would not leave their homes, particularly at harvest time, and those that did so were ill-equipped or not prepared to fight. Those from Essex and Hertfordshire were described as so mutinous and uncommandable that there was no hope for them, being 'only fit for the gallows here and for hell hereafter'. Both sides were therefore forced to turn to volunteers. On the Parliamentary side, Cromwell was one of 80 captains authorized to raise a troop of horse. He chose his men with care, rejecting 'drink-sodden veterans of foreign wars', and limiting his recruitment to sober, God-fearing Puritans like himself.¹ Cromwell had on many occasions made known his belief that victory would go to the side with the higher ideals and where the Christian faith was most deeply felt. Indeed, few of his sayings are better known than those in which he expressed the need for such qualities in the ranks. After the Battle of Edgehill, for example, he wrote to his cousin, John Hampden

Your troopers are most of them old decayed servicemen and tapsters and such kind of fellows; and their [the Royalists'] troopers are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality; do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them?²

He warned Hampden to 'get men of spirit' or he was sure to be defeated, and he told the House of Commons that 'the mind is the man'. In order to raise and maintain morale, the parliamentary generals declared that it was the duty of every soldier to ensure

by regular discussion that he understood the cause for which he was fighting and that he was firm in his beliefs. As Colonel A C T White maintained, the parliamentary generals, in consolidating morale, 'took a step that gave them a decisive advantage in striking power and made them the founders of Army education'.³ Pocket size books were issued to the troops, the best known of which are the Soldier's Pocket Bible (1643) and the Soldier's Catechism (1644).⁴ The former was full of statements about righteous wars which the soldier could apply to his own situation; and although the main purpose of the Catechism was to convince the reader of 'the inevitable and absolute necessity of fighting', it recommended all ranks 'to read and observe what hath been written by eminent soldiers'.⁵

Only a minority of soldiers would have been able to read at that time and they were usually to be found in the cavalry, 'the aristocrats of the army', where there were a number with some education. In the infantry the majority could not even write their names, and when petitioning or attesting the evidence given before courts-martial, most made their mark instead of signing.⁶ Yet there must have been a number who could at least read a little, even if they could not write, for they had been brought up on the Bible. The provision of pocket Bibles and other works, and the exhortations to soldiers to study their pages, undoubtedly led to increasing levels of literacy,⁷ especially among NCOs. But whilst it is true to say that the foundations of Army education were laid by the parliamentary generals, the early history of education in the Regular Army is a record of regimental activity.

The early regimental schools

As early as 1662 the officers of Fort St George, Madras, had asked the East India Company to provide them with a schoolmaster and in due course it complied.⁸ A decade later another military school was established in Tangier, which Charles II had acquired as part of the marriage dowry of his Queen, Catherine of Braganza. To defend Tangier against the Moors, the Tangier Regiment of Foot was raised and with it began the Army's long service in Africa. The historian, E M Routh, provides a full

picture of the garrison from 1661 to 1684, when it was evacuated. Although, as he points out, there is no specific mention of a school one must have existed, for the schoolmaster, along with municipal officials, ministers, leading merchants and doctors, formed the 'second layer' of a society in which social distinctions were very marked.⁹

The records show that a Mr Hughes was the first master there, and that he was succeeded in 1675 by John Eccles, 'usher and writing master'.¹⁰ In the same year, Richard Reynolds, a Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, was also teaching in Tangier, while retaining his Fellowship by the Royal 'will and pleasure'.¹¹ It is not known for how long he remained in Tangier, but Eccles was still teaching there in 1683, as was George Mercer, 'clerk and schoolmaster'.¹² Unfortunately, no details exist of the work of these schoolmasters but it is probable that they taught the soldiers in the garrison which usually numbered between 1,200 and 1,400 men, and also their children, who numbered 173 in 1676.¹³ It was to be nearly 100 years before there was any record of a unit school in England, when in 1762 an unoccupied room in the Tower of London was established as a schoolroom for the First Regiment of Guards (Grenadier).¹⁴ From then on examples multiply until by 1800 the regimental school had become common.

These seventeenth century records of educational activity are scanty, usually with only a passing reference to the school or its master. By the close of the eighteenth century a more detailed picture emerges. The standing orders of various regiments show that although the early schoolmasters received no training, attempts were made in some units to find a suitably qualified person. As long ago as 1768, a Captain Thomas Simes of the Queen's Royal Regiment had included in his set of model standing orders the requirement that a schoolmaster be a

Sergeant or corporal, whose sobriety, honesty and good conduct can be depended upon, and who is capable of teaching Writing, Reading and Arithmetic.¹⁵

In the Regulations of the Rifle Corps, written in 1800, the schoolmaster was to be 'a sergeant of good character and

abilities', and these were to be assessed by a board of officers before an appointment was made.¹⁶ It is, of course, difficult to say how far these criteria were met. Nevertheless, they do suggest that some units were attempting to select a schoolmaster who was not only technically proficient in the basic skills, the three Rs, but also possessed qualities of character. To find such men would not have been an easy task. NCOs who possessed even a modicum of education were at a premium and commanding officers would have been reluctant to move them from vital posts, such as assistant to the adjutant or paymaster, to the schoolroom.

Those NCOs who were selected to act as schoolmaster taught both soldiers and their children at different times during the day, a task that must have required both stamina and versatility. Sometimes it is difficult to determine the schoolmaster's main responsibility : the education of father or child. Priority appears to have been given to the soldier, with the children being taught between classes or when the soldiers were away from camp. There were, however, some occasions, such as on active service, when the child seems to have become the main object of the schoolmaster's attention. One such school was that at Belum, near Lisbon, established by Wellington during the Peninsular Wars, and which was attended largely by the children as the troops were otherwise engaged.¹⁷ Nor was the education of the child at home overlooked, and was even winning acclaim in some quarters. In the 1780s, for example, an inspecting general complimented the 80th Foot on their school for soldiers' children.¹⁸ In 1797 a school was opened at Woolwich exclusively for children, under the control of a Sergeant Dougherty,¹⁹ and by 1812 there were 268 boys attending with a schoolroom for girls shortly to open.²⁰

For some years Woolwich had been recognized as an educational centre, for the Royal Military Academy had been founded there in 1741. In its early days the Academy was not exclusively a cadet college but had something of the nature of a garrison school, teaching the NCOs of the Royal Regiment of Artillery. Woolwich though in no sense resembled the average station, where it may be

taken as probable that a single school existed serving both adults and children. By the early nineteenth century there also existed two other schools for Army children which were to become famous not only for the education of children but also as training establishments for Army schoolmasters.

The Royal Hibernian Military School in Dublin, the older of the two schools, was established in 1769 through the efforts of philanthropic ladies and gentlemen in Ireland, who were appalled at the poverty and destitution of families of soldiers quartered in Ireland and of the families of Irish soldiers overseas. The number of children who were left destitute had increased considerably following the drafting of regiments overseas during the Seven Years' War (1756-63), and within a year of the termination of that war a Hibernian Society had been formed to ameliorate their condition. Five years later, King George III granted a Charter of Incorporation in reply to a petition signed by a number of local dignitaries and several regimental commanders.²¹ The public had already contributed generously to the Society's funds and the Irish Parliament granted £3,000 towards the erection of a 'Hospital'; the site, six acres in Phoenix Park, being the gift of the King. At first the undertaking had to contend with considerable financial difficulties, but in 1774 Mrs Wolfe, mother of General Wolfe, bequeathed £3,000 to this military charity, doubtless in memory of her son, and this tided the school over some years. Nevertheless, in due course, it became necessary to petition for further aid from the state. This had risen to £5,000 a year by 1809 and so, with the school facing further financial difficulties, Sir Arthur Wellesley, Chief Secretary for Ireland and later Duke of Wellington, announced that in future it would be funded entirely by Parliament.²²

Eight years earlier, Frederick, Duke of York, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in 1795, established a second boarding school 'for the management and education of a certain number of Orphans and other Children of Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers of Our Army'.²³ No one was more aware of the widespread suffering caused by the Continental Wars than the Duke, who had campaigned on the Continent before becoming head of the Army.²⁴ The continuing casualties persuaded him to take

steps to relieve this wretchedness and so in 1801 the Royal Military Asylum, later to be known as the Duke of York's Royal Military School, was founded.²⁵

The Asylum ²⁶ opened its doors in 1803 and the first boy to enter was a John Evans, son of Corporal Evans of the 81st Regiment.²⁷ In that year there were 76 boys and 47 girls attending, but the numbers quickly rose and in 1810 they stood at 724 and 346 respectively, giving a total exceeding 1,000.²⁸ So great were the numbers seeking admission that a branch was established in that year at Parkhurst, Isle of Wight, to cater for infant children and in 1816 a further branch was opened at Southampton for the older children.²⁹ In 1823 it was decided to make the schools at Chelsea and Southampton exclusively boys' and girls' institutions, respectively. The co-educational nature of the schools had caused certain difficulties, with determined measures to keep the children of each sex apart having failed. In spite of the erection of a strong barrier and the attention of the staff, the two sexes had contrived successfully to 'elude this vigilance'.³⁰ With the numbers falling, following the return of peace, the two branches closed in 1840 and the admission of girls ceased, thus leaving Chelsea alone for the benefit of soldiers' sons.³¹

From the outset, Parliament had agreed to finance the Asylum.³² In contrast, the regimental schools were established and maintained entirely by voluntary provision. With the exception of the two military boarding schools, every school established during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the product of the regiment and not the Army. There was no Army policy on education at this time, and the success or otherwise of these 'unofficial' schools depended almost exclusively upon the foresight and generosity of the commanding officer and his officers. Some gave their full support. The school of the 22nd (Cheshire) Regiment was founded in 1797 almost entirely because of the zeal of the Commanding Officer, Colonel W Crosbie, who was not prepared to wait for the military authorities to establish Army schools.³³ This was not to be achieved for a further 15 years. The children's school at Woolwich was also founded as a

result of personal endeavour, this time due to the efforts of a Captain William Robe and the Commandant, General Lloyd, who raised funds by private subscription from all officers at the headquarters, an additional 20 guineas being donated by the Duchess of York for the purchase of books.³⁴

There were occasions when the generosity of officers manifested itself in ways other than financial, even to the extent of teaching in the school themselves, although this was rare. An outstanding example of this was George Peevor, an ensign of the 17th (Leicestershire) Regiment. Whilst his regiment was on tour in Ghazeeopore he voluntarily took over the instruction of the children and young soldiers attending the school and, devoting all his spare time to their education, was consistently commended for his work in the annual general inspection reports.³⁵ This and other regimental schools were established and maintained as Palmerston said, by 'the zeal, intelligence and liberality of the officers and by private contribution'.³⁶

The reason why regimental schools were established

The reason why some commanding officers were prepared to fund regimental schools from their own resources was that they believed that there were tangible benefits to be obtained. It was in the administrative field that the value of an educated junior NCO was first realized. During the eighteenth century, unit administration had become increasingly complex and only a literate and numerate NCO would have been able to produce the reports, rosters, returns and accounts which were demanded, often in a complicated form. These demands were clearly reflected in the qualifications required of the NCO where, in the Queen's Royal Regiment, for example,

The sergeant major 'should be a man of real merit, a complete sergeant and a good scholar ... and must be ready at his pen and expert at making out details and rosters'.

The corporal 'should have a quickness of comprehension with a knowledge of reading, writing and accounts'.³⁷

An educated NCO was essential not only for general unit administration but also to oversee the personal administration

of the private soldier, the latter's dependence upon a literate and numerate superior being illustrated in many ways. For example, it was the NCO who read out the disciplinary codes to the soldier at the pay table, the latter memorizing and confirming them with the oath, 'all these articles which have been openly read to us, we hold and allow as sacred and good'.³⁸ There was also the problem of generally supervising and issuing orders to troops who were invariably widely scattered, and so handwritten copies of handwritten orders were circulated to NCOs who were often remote from the sender, for this was before the era of barracks. With the exception of the Tower and certain coastal forts there were no buildings designed to serve as barracks until the close of the eighteenth century, and so the men were billeted in local inns and taverns under the care of a sergeant or corporal. Innkeepers were legally bound to provide straw, candles, food and drink, in return for stoppages of pay, but they frequently tried to cheat the soldier out of what he was entitled to. As the private soldiers in Sheridan's play, St Patrick's Day, explain 'The Two Magpies are civil enough; but the Angel uses us like devils, and the Rising Sun refuses us light to go to bed by'. They decide that Sergeant Trounce, who was a 'scholar' with a 'gift for reading', was the best person to look to for support and guidance for 'he's a gentleman of words; he understands your foreign lingo, your figures, and such like auxiliaries in scoring'.³⁹

Much emphasis was rightly placed on the skills of the NCO, and regiments increasingly encouraged the private soldier as well to obtain similar educational qualifications. After all, the private soldier was himself a potential NCO and the ranks were the only source from which NCOs could be selected; hence there was an incentive to educate soldiers in order to build up a large enough pool from which commanders could select their junior leaders. For example, the Regulations of the Rifle Corps (1800), not only laid down that a knowledge of the three Rs was essential for the NCO, but also that 'the knowledge of these will also be much in favour of promoting the private Rifleman'.⁴⁰ By stating that a knowledge of the basic subjects would help the rifleman to obtain promotion, these orders established a clear relationship

between education and promotion, which is a principle still adhered to in the Army of today.⁴¹

The reason why the Rifle Corps and other units placed so much emphasis upon an educated soldier was not solely connected with administrative competence. It was also directly associated with the profession of arms and especially with evolving tactics and improvements in the range and effectiveness of firepower. In the pre-technological Army, the chief requirements of the fighting man were that he should know how to use his weapons, be amenable to military discipline and, above all, be physically strong enough to withstand the fatigues of war. He was certainly not required to think, merely to obey orders. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, new influences began to affect military thought and ultimately the qualities required of the soldier. The guerrilla tactics used by the American settlers in the forests during the American War of Independence (1763-83), had proved very successful and had demonstrated that 'drill and discipline could make the British soldier stand and be killed; but they could not avail him to silence the unseen rifle which safely ensconced beyond the range of his own musket, struck down his officers, then his sergeants, then himself'.⁴² The British had no alternative but to learn from their enemies, to pit individual against individual, marksman against marksman, irregular fighting against irregular fighting.

The British were forced to adopt the enemy's tactics for two reasons: the deadly marksmanship of American riflemen and the fact that almost every important action of the war was fought on heavily wooded ground. Thus, British infantrymen lost in great measure, if not entirely, the solidarity and precision to which they were accustomed. All movement had to be conducted loosely and irregularly, with an independence of action on the part of small units and individuals which was wholly at variance with the received doctrines of Europe. As a result, under Colonel Coote-Manningham, an Experimental Corps of Riflemen was raised in 1800 from selected detachments of various regiments and which gradually expanded to become what was known as the Rifle Brigade in 1816. The tactics they evolved were expressed in a poem which read

Oh, Colonel Coote-Manningham he was the Man
For he invented a Capital Plan
He raised a Corps of Rifle men
To fight for England's glory
He dressed them all in Jackets of green
And placed them where they could not be seen
And sent them in front, an invisible screen
To Fight for England's glory.⁴³

The need to respond to the enemy by open formation and movement instead of in formal squares placed considerable emphasis on developing the initiative of the soldier, and more especially the junior leader, so as to enable even the smallest units to perform efficiently when on detached duty. When, in 1803, Sir John Moore took command of the Riflemen at Shorncliffe Camp, Kent,⁴⁴ private soldiers, probably for the first time, were regarded as intelligent beings, capable of doing their duty effectively because they knew what they were doing. Of the Riflemen, Moore himself wrote: 'Their movement in the field is perfect. It is evident that not only the officers, but that each individual soldier knows perfectly what he has to do; the discipline is carried on without severity; the officers are attached to the men and the men to the officers'.⁴⁵

As the nineteenth century progressed, improvements in the accuracy of fire also increased the demand for better educated soldiers as they became ever-more dispersed whilst, at the same time, the weapons themselves led to Army training becoming more complicated and reflected the fact that modern firearms called for higher skill and intelligence in the person who used them. Instruction in musketry showed this, for not only was it necessary to possess practical skill in the use of the rifle, but it also became important to know something of its construction and the principles upon which it worked. These were carefully explained with the aid of diagrams but even so the meaning could be difficult to follow. When a soldier was told that 'the course of a bullet under the influence of powder is a curved line called a trajectory', it was obvious that this would be 'absolutely unintelligible' to the 'untaught mind'.⁴⁶

The tuition of the soldier was not, however, the sole concern of commanding officers. Although the Army made no provision for the

offspring of unofficial marriages, it did cater for children of those families that were 'on the strength', that is, with the commanding officer's approval. Marriage was discouraged because it was regarded as a hindrance to the men's primary allegiance to the regiment, but there was some recognition by the Army authorities of the needs of families and the value of wives to the service. Some families were even permitted to accompany the regiment on active service overseas. The reasons for encouraging and later compelling Army children to attend school, long before there was comparable provision in the civilian field were varied: some were altruistic, others realistic, some long term, others immediate. As already noted, the Duke of York had founded the Asylum at Chelsea in 1801. Perhaps his greatest contribution to Army education, at least as far as the soldier and his child were concerned,⁴⁷ was the official recognition that he obtained a decade later for the regimental schools, thereby enlarging the provision of children's schools both at home and abroad.

The name of Frederick, Duke of York, is usually associated with the rather fatuous and probably fictitious military operation of marching his army up a hill and then reversing the exercise. Whatever his skills as a commander in the field might have been,⁴⁸ there can be no doubt that many of the measures taken in the early years of the nineteenth century to improve the condition of the rank and file, through better accommodation, rations, hospital provision and schools, were of his doing. In a sermon at the Asylum following his death in January 1827, The Revd George Clarke paid tribute to the work that the Duke had done on behalf of the soldier, his widow and the fatherless. The following month, the Commissioners of the Asylum decided to give a copy of the sermon, bound in strong leather, to each child when he left the Asylum, in order to perpetuate the Duke's memory.⁴⁹ As far as commanding officers were concerned, it was not only the orphan or fatherless child that was becoming a problem but also the growing number of children straying about the barracks with little to do.

Barrack building began in 1792 in key strategic locations such as the South coast in order to combat a French invasion, and by 1805

there were 203 barracks with accommodation for 17,000 cavalry and 146,000 infantry.⁵⁰ These would also have catered for the small proportion of soldiers who were allowed to marry. The wives were allowed to live within the barracks but their accommodation was spartan, primitive and lacking in privacy. This extended to sharing the same barrack room with the unmarried men, screened off only by a few blankets, for it was not until after the Crimean War that married quarters were built. In such cramped conditions the children would probably have been turned out into the barrack yard to play, where the likelihood of causing annoyance was considerable. Whereas previously the children of a regiment were housed in local taverns and cottages, now they were under the eye of the commanding officer who came to regard schooling as a means of preventing them from getting into trouble. At Lisbon in the Peninsula, for example, Wellington ordered that the 'raggle taggle children' be rounded up and sent to school 'to keep them out of mischief'.⁵¹

There were also more positive reasons for sending them to school, beyond merely the desire that they cause no harm. Those philanthropists who helped establish and maintain the two military orphanages and the smaller regimental schools envisaged their meeting important moral and social objectives as well as providing the children with skills, however rudimentary, related to earning a living. These considerations are clearly evident in the records of the schools, in their regulations and also in the curriculum, to be considered in subsequent chapters. They are perhaps most explicit in the regulations relating to the Royal Military Asylum.

The intention of the Commissioners of the Asylum that the children be brought up as good Christians, able to earn a living within their own social sphere, emerges clearly from a review of the duties of the staff there. One of the two principal educational figures at the Asylum was the chaplain and headmaster, The Revd G Clarke, or, as he was officially called, the Superintendent of Morals and Education. He was to

examine the children in the Church Catechism and
instruct them in the meaning thereof according to their

capacities every Sunday ... He is also to be responsible for and to have a general superintendence of the education of the children ... in every respect he shall to the best of his ability, endeavour that the children be carefully instructed in the principles of virtue and religion, and that a pious, sober and orderly conduct be observed by every person in the Asylum.⁵²

The other key educational person at the Asylum was the Sergeant-Major of Instruction, Alexander Hodgins. His duties show that whilst religious training was of primary importance, the three Rs and industrial training were not neglected. After prayers he was to ensure that the children proceeded to 'the school business of Reading, Writing and the first Four Rules of Arithmetic' or to such other employments that might help to qualify them either for the duties of a soldier or for other 'subordinate situations in life'.⁵³ Similarly, the Royal Hibernian Military School resembled an industrial school as well as an educational establishment, with the curriculum placing much emphasis on gardening, net-making, tree-planting and other remunerative occupations. In this way, the school would not only save the children from 'Popery' but also from 'Beggary and Idleness'.⁵⁴

When the regimental schools were officially established in 1812 it was clear that they too were intended to meet the same objectives as the two boarding schools. The General Order of 1 January 1812 left little doubt as to the aims of the children's schools. These were to impress 'early habits of order, regularity and discipline, derived from a well-grounded respect and veneration for the Established Religion of the Country'; to provide them with the means of earning a living and, finally, to raise 'a succession of Loyal Subjects, Brave Soldiers and Good Christians'.⁵⁵ Implicit in this Order was the belief that at least some of the boys would choose to join the Army, and it is evident that one of the reasons for encouraging the development of these schools was because they provided a good source of potential recruits, who were well-disciplined and familiar with military ways. Figures for the number of recruits who had fathers in the Army do not appear to have survived, but one modern military writer, A R Skelley, maintains that a

significant proportion of each year's recruits were Army children, and this must have been an important consideration in Army policy regarding its children.⁵⁶ It was certainly a policy encouraged at the two military boarding schools. In 1808 the Charter of the Royal Hibernian School laid down that the purpose of the school was 'for maintaining, educating and apprenticing the children or placing them in Our Regular Army'.⁵⁷ There were similar expectations at the Royal Military Asylum.

Parents or friends applying for the admission of children had to sign a declaration that they not only gave their consent to the children remaining in the Asylum, but also 'to their being disposed of, when of proper age ... as apprentices or servants, or, if boys, to their being placed with their own free consent, in our Regular Army, as private soldiers'.⁵⁸ From the outset the Asylum was a success in recruiting terms. In the three decades following its foundation, nearly one third of the boys joined the Army and generally obtained good reports,⁵⁹ a pattern that was maintained throughout the nineteenth century.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, although the recruitment of boys into the Army was to figure prominently in the raison d'être of the Army's schools, their fundamental aim and purpose, as far as the children were concerned, was to provide a religious and moral education followed by industrial training, all of which were geared to ensuring that the child grew up to be a hard-working, Christian person content with his subordinate position in society. In all these respects Army schools clearly reflected the attitude of the Church of England, and society in general, towards elementary education at this time. Indeed, there was a close correlation between educational developments in the Army and in the civilian field.

Developments in civilian elementary education

There were several different types of elementary school for the civilian child at the beginning of the nineteenth century, some of which also catered for adults. During the eighteenth century the adult schools were usually adjuncts to the children's

schools.⁶¹ Sometimes adults and children were taught together. The Revd Griffith Jones reported that 'Poor and the low People of various Ages, even from six years to seventy, and sometimes Parents and Children together', were taught in the Welsh charity schools. In other schools, as in the schools of the Army, adults were taught separately. For example, in his plan for a school at Kingswood near Bristol in 1739, John Wesley proposed that 'the older people' be taught 'in the inner rooms, either early in the morning, or late at night, so that they may work unhindered'.⁶²

By the early nineteenth century, some schools had been established exclusively for adults. One of the earliest of such schools was opened in Nottingham in 1798 by William Singleton, a Methodist and Samuel Fox, a Quaker, and this perhaps provided the stimulus to the adult school movement which started in Bristol in 1812 and soon spread across the southern half of the country. Whatever the motives of those attending these schools, there is little doubt as to the motives of their middle-class patrons. In the words of Dr Thomas Pole, a member of the managing committee of the schools in Bristol, whose History of the Origin and Progress of Adult Schools (1814) is one of the main sources for the early history of the movement, their purpose was 'to admit celestial light into the habitations of darkness and ignorance'. This would not only benefit the individual but also society, for it would increase 'industry, frugality and economy' and make 'the lower classes less dependent on the provident members of society'.⁶³ Not surprisingly, the main aim of the schools was to teach reading, and very often scholars were dismissed as soon as they could read the New Testament. In the children's schools too the emphasis was on religious instruction which it was thought would have a civilizing and stabilizing effect on the poor.

Children were taught to read so that they could follow the Bible, but other forms of learning were generally discouraged. The horizons of elementary education were very limited indeed, for education was certainly not intended to help a child rise above his station; rather, it was to reinforce his place in society by teaching him ideas of reverence and subservience from an early

age. Protection of the social order through education was, for example, a primary objective of the evangelical movement which grew up in the Church of England during the late eighteenth century, and was reflected in the works of one of the leaders of the evangelical educators, Hannah More. Her writings were simple moral tales illustrating basic Christian virtues and the rightness of the social order, and they proved so popular that two million of her tracts were reputed to have been sold in 1795 alone.⁶⁴ During the first decades of the nineteenth century this social function was to become an increasingly important factor in the provision of elementary education, partly because of the changes wrought by the early years of the Industrial Revolution and partly because of the destabilizing impact of the French Revolution upon English social and political thinking.

By the end of the eighteenth century large industrial towns like Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester had grown up, which gave a new dimension to the problem of poverty. The vast slums that developed served to keep the misery and threat of the poor constantly before the eyes of the authorities. Furthermore, this new urban proletariat often lay quite outside the existing social and political organization; in Birmingham, for example, there was no local authority higher than the parish. People were disturbed and frightened not only by their vast numbers but by the patent lack of any administration to control them or provide basic amenities for them. At the same time there were current political doctrines which were avowedly subversive of the existing political and social structure, the results of which were to be observed in France. For all these reasons, some people, both civilian and military, were concerned about the stability of the social system and they turned to education 'so that the young may be inoculated against the contagion of subversive doctrine and made into pillars of the establishment'.⁶⁵

To further these ends, schools were established all over the country by Anglicans and Nonconformists. The main instigators of these schools were those two large religious organizations, the National Society, founded in 1811, and the British and Foreign

School Society, a little later. The National Society was supported by the Church of England and the British and Foreign School Society by the Nonconformists.⁶⁶ It was to be some years, however, before they received any funds from the state, and in 1812 when the Army had gained official recognition and financial support for its children, similar provision for the civilian children of the poor in the United Kingdom was minimal. It was estimated that in 1800 only a very small proportion of such children, about one in 30, underwent any organized education, the overwhelming majority receiving no education at all.⁶⁷

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, progressive individuals introduced bills into the House of Commons in order to increase state involvement in the provision of elementary schooling for the poor, but they were unsuccessful. Not only did they fail to win the support of employers but they also foundered on the rocks of religious intolerance.⁶⁸ This religious controversy was to rage throughout the nineteenth century and continually thwart attempts to increase state provision. The Anglican Church, representing the majority of the nation, claimed to be the sole national educational authority, and this included appointing teachers and determining the curriculum, but this was opposed by a growing and vigorous body of Nonconformists, who understandably challenged such claims. Nor was the cause of elementary education helped by government commitment to the principle of laissez-faire, which opposed state intervention although it blessed voluntary efforts.

It was widely believed that the state had no right to interfere in the private affairs of individuals, and that included education. The function of government was strictly limited to foreign affairs and keeping order and in all other respects people were expected to be self-reliant and stand on their own feet; indeed, it was considered to be morally wrong to depend on others. Finally, there was a widespread belief that education for the mass of the population was undesirable. The ruling classes were certainly united in their concern to maintain social stability but differed in their views as to the role that education could play in effecting it. Whilst some regarded

education as the panacea, others believed that it would have the opposite effect and make men question their lot. Indeed, many ministers and men in power dreaded the consequences of teaching the people, more than they dreaded the effects of their ignorance.⁶⁹ Such a view was typified in a speech in the House of Commons in 1807 by Mr D Giddy, when he opposed Whitbread's Parochial Schools Bill to establish a national system of rate-aided parish schools for the poor on the grounds that it would be

prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture, and other laborious employments to which their rank in society had destined them; instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them factious and refractory, as was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors.⁷⁰

Such sentiments were also to be heard within the Army, which was officered by men who also formed part of the ruling elite of the country. As will be discussed in Chapter 7 ⁷¹, there was considerable concern over the introduction of regimental libraries which might contain seditious literature, and so incite soldiers to sympathize with those men supporting insurrection whom the soldiers were ordered to quell. Such concern was expressed in The Recruiting Officer, a work of fiction but no less valid for that. A Captain Plume, the recruiting officer, re-united with his sergeant, named Kite, enquired how recruiting had been going

PLUME. A very elegant Reception indeed, Mr Kite, I find you are fairly enter'd into your Recruiting Strain - Pray what Success?

KITE. I have been here but a Week, and I have recruited five.

PLUME. Five! Pray, What are they?

KITE. I have listed the strong Man of Kent, the King of the Gypsies, a Scotch Pedlar, a Scoundrel Attorney, and a Welsh Parson.

PLUME. An Attorney! Wer't thou mad? List a Lawyer! Discharge him, discharge him this Minute.

KITE. Why Sir?

PLUME. Because I will have no Body in my Company that can write; a Fellow that can write, can draw

Petitions - I say, this Minute discharge him.⁷²

During succeeding decades the education of the soldier was still regarded as reprehensible in some quarters. Many commanding officers saw educated men as 'lawyers', who could express their grievances more eloquently than the other soldiers⁷³ and, if too well informed, were liable 'to question the wisdom of their officers, and to fit them for being ringleaders in any discontent'.⁷⁴ Not everyone, however, accepted such an outcome.

In contrast, as already noted, some commanding officers believed that an ability to read and write conferred benefits not dangers to the unit and to the Army, and to this end had set up their own regimental schools. By the early nineteenth century, as the demand for educational provision for the soldier and his children grew, the authorities came under increasing pressure to establish a formal system of education which included trained schoolmasters.

Official recognition of the regimental schools, 1812

By 1812 the diverse factors which had prompted commanding officers to establish schools began to assume increasing importance. Indeed, White argues that it was becoming impossible for the War Office to deny official recognition to these schools and avoid responsibility for them. Changes in tactics, advances in weaponry and the increasing complexity of unit administration, especially once troops were assembled in barracks, led commanding officers to encourage schooling for their men and occasionally to enforce it. As far as the soldiers' families were concerned, the pitiable conditions in which they lived were giving rise to increasing comment, in addition to which the numbers of enlisted boys had greatly increased, all of whom had to be catered for.⁷⁵

Although the enlisted boys had existed since the days of Marlborough as buglers, trumpeters and drummers, it was during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars that they first made their appearance in significant numbers to overcome the shortage of manpower. Such was this shortfall that in 1797 four regiments were instructed to recruit boys who would form the bulk of those

regiments concerned.⁷⁶ The following extract of a letter from the Adjutant-General to commanding officers in 1808 shows that it was expected that these lads would be carefully treated and specifically educated

His Royal Highness recommends in general terms the utmost mildness and lenity as the best modes of establishing discipline, and ... commands me to suggest for your consideration the expediency of establishing a regimental school, for the instruction of such of them as discover abilities in the necessary qualifications of reading and writing, with a view of their becoming hereafter useful and valuable non-commissioned officers.⁷⁷

The Duke could only urge that schools be set up; he could not enforce it. This, no doubt, was what he wanted and three years later he took direct action to bring this about. On 26 August 1811 he wrote to Viscount Palmerston, Secretary-at-War,⁷⁸ asking for regimental schools to be established throughout the Service for the education of young soldiers and soldiers' children, free of charge.⁷⁹ Interestingly, adult soldiers were not mentioned specifically. No doubt he regretted this but recent events had made their inclusion difficult, for two years earlier, in 1809, the commanding officer of the Bedford Militia had opened a regimental school on a fee-paying basis, but unwisely made attendance of NCOs compulsory. One man objected and was subsequently gaoled after court-martial. There followed a series of lawsuits which lasted several years and in the course of one of the appeals, the judge ruled that

It is no part of military duty to attend a school, and to learn to read and write. If writing is necessary to corporals and sergeants, the superior officers must select men who can read and write.⁸⁰

This ruling was to bedevil Army education during the nineteenth century and make compulsory attendance a highly controversial issue.⁸¹ As far as the child and young soldier were concerned, however, education was to be provided, for Palmerston fully supported the Duke's request. In a Circular, dated 27 December 1811, he informed commanding officers that a school was to be set up in each battalion or corps,⁸² and within days the Duke himself

had issued his own instruction to the Army. The Commander-in-Chief's Order of 1 January 1812, at Appendix B, required all commanding officers to take the regimental schools under their special protection, the regimental chaplains inspecting and carefully supervising the schools and the work of the sergeant-schoolmaster.⁸³ Six months later, Palmerston authorized the Barrack Commissioners to issue 'the necessary quantities of coal and candles in the winter months', for rooms appropriated as regimental schools.⁸⁴ When Palmerston presented the Army Estimates in that year, he requested that Parliament allocate £20,000 to cover the costs of running these schools, a sum Palmerston believed to be 'neither useless nor lavish', considering the 'advantages it afforded to the Army'.⁸⁵

There was, of course, little point in establishing regimental schools unless there was a supply of qualified schoolmasters to run them, but the authorities had taken cognizance of this too. In the eighteenth century, some commanding officers had tried to appoint suitably qualified soldiers to run their regimental schools, which gave them an advantage over many of their civilian counterparts in an age which saw nothing untoward in entrusting the education of the children of the poor to the aged, the decrepit and the dissolute. For example, the dame schools for the very young were run by elderly women who could do little more than act as inefficient baby-minders, whilst private establishments for the older children were often run by men, sometimes ex-soldiers, who were no longer fit for any other work. Admittedly, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge did demand a modicum of scholastic attainment from its teachers, but as their schools were primarily concerned with saving souls they did not look so much for scholarship in their teachers as for religious orthodoxy and moral probity.⁸⁶ Overall, if the likelihood of the elementary teacher being reasonably well-educated was small, the chances of him being trained as well were remote, for it was not until the early nineteenth century that the systematic training of teachers began. It was to be a similar story in the Army.

In his letter to Palmerston in August 1811, the Duke had emphasized that it was essential to appoint a

sergeant-schoolmaster to each battalion to instruct the young soldiers and children.⁸⁷ Palmerston had replied by informing commanding officers that they were to select a person in the regiment 'properly qualified' for the post, and that these men were to forward their names to Horse Guards, headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief, which would arrange for them to undergo a course of training at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea.⁸⁸ Within six weeks, by early February 1812, the first course of 22 sergeants had completed their training and had returned to their regiments to begin their duties.⁸⁹

That was the situation in 1812. At long last, the regimental school with its sergeant-schoolmaster had obtained formal recognition after years of voluntary effort. Where there was no school one was to be established; the commanding officer was to take a personal interest in and responsibility for it, along with support from the chaplain, and the unit's schoolmaster was to be trained. Above all, these schools were to be funded by Parliament and although, as Palmerston said, it might have been a modest sum, it was nevertheless a significant act, for it was to be another 20 years before Parliament approved a grant to help support civilian elementary schools.⁹⁰ In some respects it may appear surprising that the Army should be at the forefront of educational opinion at this time; it was not an organization whose raison d'être was education, nor was it noted for its progressive ideas. But it did possess certain features which assisted those pursuing educational reform.

Perhaps the Army's most distinctive characteristic was its hierarchical, authoritarian structure, where orders from above were expected to be carried out without opposition, however disagreeable they might be to the individual concerned. Thus, the fortunes of Army education, like all aspects of Army life, very much depended on the views of the men at the top, especially the Commander-in-Chief, and in the early nineteenth century the Army was headed by a man, the Duke of York, who was passionately concerned about the welfare of his men and their families, and that included education. Without his interest and influence it is unlikely that the reforms of 1812 would have taken place when

they did. Indeed, as will be seen in later chapters, the fate of Army education in the nineteenth century was very largely determined by those at the helm and, in particular, by the Commander-in-Chief himself and the Secretary-at-War. In 1812 the latter post was held by Palmerston, and his success in securing Parliamentary funding for Army schools was a considerable achievement given the inability of reformers to obtain similar provision for civilian elementary schools at this time.

As already noted, one of the reasons for their failure was the intense rivalry between the Church of England and Nonconformity over the control and direction of education. As far as the Army was concerned, it was very much part of the Establishment and therefore rooted in the Church of England, and so the question of who should direct Army education simply did not arise. As the General Order of 1812 made clear, the regimental schools were to ensure that the children who attended were brought up in a proper manner, 'derived from a well-grounded respect and veneration for the Established Religion of the Country'; and the method of teaching to be adopted was that of the National Society, based on the ideas of The Revd Dr Andrew Bell.

A further advantage conferred on those seeking educational reform within the Army was that here the prevailing philosophy of laissez-faire in society at large appeared to have little relevance. It would have been inconceivable to have argued that the Army had no right to interfere in any aspect of a soldier's life which he had, after all, 'given over' to the Army. When some far-sighted commanding officers in the eighteenth century made provision for schooling in their regiments, and the Commander-in-Chief throughout the Army as a whole in 1812, it could be regarded simply as an extension to their other responsibilities to provide shelter, food, and clothing. It would be wrong to exaggerate the extent to which all commanding officers fulfilled their obligations to their men and their families; there were frequent complaints of lack of interest and indifference to their needs.⁹¹ On the other hand, there were some who did regard it as their duty to do all they could to make their soldiers' lives more tolerable. This concern was equally

true of the upper and middle classes in general⁹² but, arguably, was more pronounced in the Army where, despite the rigid class and rank structure, the regiment was regarded as an enlarged family in which the interests of all had to be considered.

As the Officer Corps gradually became more professional as the century progressed, so its paternalistic concern also increased, and in the educational sphere was to be reflected in the establishment of libraries, reading and recreation rooms and, more generally, in the provision of leisure and sporting facilities. In the meantime, the foundations of the Army's educational system were being firmly laid at the Asylum, Chelsea, where the first student-schoolmasters gathered in 1812 to undergo a course of training under the direction of Dr Bell himself.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 1

1. Field Marshal Lord Carver, The Seven Ages of the British Army (1986), pp.18-19.
2. Ibid., p.19. See also Wedgwood C V, The King's War, 1641-1647 (1958), p.139.
3. White A C T, The Story of Army Education, 1643-1963 (1963), p.17.
4. Copies of the Soldier's Pocket Bible & the Soldier's Catechism are held in the RAEC Archives.
5. Ibid., loc.cit. See also Wedgwood, op.cit., pp.210-212, for a discussion on 'the Spirit of the Armies'.
6. Firth C H, Cromwell's Army. A History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate (1912), p.40. Another writer puts forward a contradictory view: 'In several thousand petitions or receipts of Cromwell's army, usually signed by the men but sometimes by their wives, the vast majority, even of the non commissioned officers and men, could sign their names; and, in the relatively few documents containing the signatures of all the officers and men of regiments in Cromwell's army, perhaps four-fifths of the men signed their names'. See Davies G, The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660 (1937), p.356.
7. Firth, op.cit., pp.327-330.
8. White, op.cit., p.18. In the original draft of his book, a copy of which is held in the RAEC Archives, White explains that it took some years for the Company to provide a schoolmaster because the command of the seas had been lost and regained in the interval. In 1677, however, it appointed a Mr Ralph Orde as schoolmaster at the Fort at a salary of £50 a year. His job was to teach the children to 'read and cipher' and to instruct them in the 'Principles of the Protestant religion'.

9. Routh E M, Tangier, England's Lost Atlantic Outpost, 1661-84 (1912), pp.272-273 & p.304. The existence of a school is mentioned in Cowper L I, The King's Own. The Story of a Royal Regiment, vol.1, 1680-1814 (1939), p.18.
10. PRO Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports. MSS of the Earl of Dartmouth, 1687, Appendix, Part 5, p.104.
11. PRO Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1675-6, Entry Book 47, p.6.
12. PRO Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, op.cit., p.104. See also PRO CO 279/32, f.269. John Eccles was put in charge of the soldiers' families when the Unity hospital ship set sail in 1683, upon the evacuation of Tangier. There were 104 women and children on board as well as 114 invalid soldiers. They were to be quartered in Falmouth on an allowance of threepence a day to each soldier's wife until the arrival of the battalion. Earl of Dartmouth to J Eccles, 18 October 1683.
13. PRO CO 279/19, f.371. Survey by John Bland, Controller of His Majesty's Revenues, 31 December 1676.
14. PRO WO 47/159, f.42. Establishment of a regimental school in the Tower. WO Ordnance Minutes, 1762, vol.126.
15. Simes T, The Military Medley (1768), p.2.
16. Colonel Coote-Manningham's Regulations for the Rifle Corps, Blatchington Barracks, 25 August 1800. MOD Library. See also Fuller J F C, Sir John Moore's System of Training (1924), Chapter X, 'Moral Training of the Men'.
17. Wellington's General Orders, Freneda, 25 February & 8 May 1812, quoted here in St John Williams N T, Tommy Atkins' Children. The Story of the Education of the Army's Children, 1675-1970 (1971), p.9. One writer, however, points out that NCOs and men also attended the regimental school established in the winter of 1812 and that those wishing to attend were excused evening parade. The experiment justified

itself and during the winter many were allowed time to pursue their studies. See Cowper, op.cit., pp.407-408.

18. White, op.cit., p.18.
19. Duncan F, History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, vol 2 (1879), p.82.
20. PRO WO 44/647. Ordnance Correspondence. Commanding Officer Woolwich Garrison to the Board of Ordnance, 24 November 1812.
21. A copy of the Petition to King George III, dated 18 April 1769, is held in the RAEC Archives. See also, Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army, and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms, 1859, by Lieutenant-Colonel J H Lefroy, pp.78-79, for further details of the early history of the school.
22. 'Military School Burned', extract from The Times, 10 March 1925, in Journal of the Army Educational Corps, vol. II, no.2, June 1925, & Major A J H Mcleesh, late AEC, 'The Royal Hibernian Military School', in Journal of the Army Educational Corps, vol. XIV, no.1, January 1937. The School was evacuated in 1922 when the British forces withdrew from Ireland, the pupils being transferred to The Duke of York's Royal Military School, formerly The Royal Military Asylum. An account of the departure of the 'Hibs' is given in the Irish Times, September 1922, a copy of which is in the RAEC Archives.
23. PRO WO 143/6, ff.6-9. Minutes of HM Commissioners, RMA, Chelsea, 1801-13, 24 June 1801. Royal Warrant, 24 June 1801. Appointment of Commissioners for the Management of Affairs of the RMA, Chelsea. MOD Library.
24. See Watkins J, A Biographical Memoir of His Late Royal Highness, Frederick, Duke of York and Albany (1827) & Burne A H, The Noble Duke of York, The Military Life of Frederick Duke of York and Albany (1949).

25. It is interesting to record that in the draft Royal Warrant for the foundation of the Royal Military College, in 1800, with which the Duke of York was closely associated, there is a proposal for a legion of 400 boys, sons of private soldiers, to be educated and trained at the Royal Military College. This scheme was not carried through and it seems probable that its place was taken by the establishment of the Royal Military Asylum.
26. In 1892 the name of the institution was changed by Royal Warrant from The Royal Military Asylum to The Duke of York's Royal Military School. At the time of its foundation, the Asylum was not regarded as unfortunately named, an asylum being a place of serenity and security, a sanctuary. By the late nineteenth century the term had acquired unhappy overtones and became increasingly associated with insanity. In 1909 the school moved from Chelsea to Dover, above the cliffs, where it remains today.
27. Rudd L, The Duke of York's Royal Military School (1924), p.9.
28. XIXth Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry, 1812, P.P., IV, 1812, Appendix 23.
29. PRO WO 43/473, ff. 61-64. Lord Hill, Commander-in-Chief, Horse Guards to Secretary-at-War, 11 July 1835. See also Moran J E, Soldiers Education in the Early and Mid Nineteenth Century with Particular Reference to the Royal Military Asylum (Ph.D.thesis, Swansea, 1979).
30. PRO WO 143/9, ff.1-11. Minutes of HM Commissioners, RMA, Chelsea, 1821-32, 13 March 1824.
31. PRO WO 43/473, ff.66-73. Minute, RMA, Chelsea, 25 November 1840. In 1846 the Asylum was reorganized and a 'Normal' and 'Model' School established. See Chapter 3, pp.82-85. In the mid-1850s, the admission of girls at the Royal Hibernian Military School also ceased; a separate establishment, the Drummond School, was founded for them at Chapelizod, Dublin.

32. PRO WO 143/6, f.3. Minutes of HM Commissioners, RMA, Chelsea, 1801-13, 19 June 1801.
33. Rigby B, Ever Glorious. The Story of the 22nd (Cheshire) Regiment, vol.1 (1982), p.105.
34. Duncan, op.cit., p.82.
35. Webb E A H, A History of the Services of the 17th (Leicestershire) Regiment (1911), pp.118-122. Officers' families also gave their support. For example, whilst the 53rd Regiment was stationed in Canterbury in 1805, children of the Regiment were assembled in the house of one of the officers and received instruction from his family. When the Regiment moved to the East Indies in 1806 the school broke up but was soon re-opened under a sergeant who could 'read and write well'. See Sir T Bernard, Of the Education of the Poor, Being the First Part of a Digest of the Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor (1809, republished 1970), pp.175-178.
36. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Army Estimates, 22 February 1812, vol.XXI, col.894. Viscount Palmerston, later Lord Palmerston, became Secretary-at-War in 1809 at the age of 25 and held the post under five administrations until 1828. Given the importance of this post to the Army, including Army education, particularly in the area of finance, a list of the holders of this post is given at Appendix A.
37. Simes T, The Regulator: or Instructions to form the Officer and Complete the Soldier Upon Fixed Principles (1780), pp.15 & 18.
38. White, op.cit., p.16. White notes that this tradition lasted for many years. Until 1928 the British soldier was taught the penal sections of the Army Act by having them read to him, verbatim, four times a year.
39. Sheridan R B R, St Patrick's Day, Complete Plays (1954), pp.99-100.

40. Colonel Coote-Manningham's Regulations of the Rifle Corps, 25 August 1800. MOD Library.
41. Manual of Army Education, 1986, Chapter 2.
42. Fortescue J W, A History of the British Army, vol.3, 1763-93 (1902), p.529.
43. Parkyn H G, A Short History of the Rifle Brigade (1921), p.5.
44. Following the foundation of the AEC in 1920, the Army School of Education and the Depot of the AEC were established at Shorncliffe Camp.
45. Cole D H & Priestley E C, An Outline of British Military History, 1660-1939 (1945), p.121.
46. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P.,XXXII, 1862, p.v.
47. The Duke of York was also concerned about the level of education in the Officer Corps, and thus founded two military schools: one at Great Marlow for cadets which later became the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and another at High Wycombe for officers who sought employment on the Staff, which was to become the Staff College.
48. In his biography of the Duke of York, Burne believes that historians have been unfair in their assessment of his military skills. See Burne, op.cit., pp. 13-15.
49. 'A Sermon on the Death of HRH the Duke of York, Founder of the Royal Military Asylum', preached by The Revd G Clarke on 7 January 1827 (1827). See also Cockerill A W, Sons of the Brave: The Story of Boy Soldiers (1984), Chapter VII, 'Likely Lads'. The Times, 6 January 1827, wrote that his memory would be dear to all who 'take a serious interest in the honour, welfare and efficiency of the British Army'.
50. Brereton J M, The British Soldier, A Social History from 1661 to the Present Day (1986), p.34.

51. Bamford V, On the Strength. The Story of the British Army Wife (1974), p.187. See also Trustram M, Women of the Regiment. Marriage and the Victorian Army (1984), Chapter 5, 'The Service Family'.
52. PRO WO 143/6, f.57. Minutes of HM Commissioners, RMA, Chelsea, 1801-13, 2 April 1803.
53. Ibid., ff.62-63.
54. Petition to King George III, 18 April 1769. RAEC Archives.
55. General Order, 216, 1 January 1812. Establishment of Regimental Schools. MOD Library.
56. Skelley A R, The Victorian Army at Home. The Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular, 1859-99 (1977), p.101.
57. Charter of the Royal Hibernian Military School, 1808. RAEC Archives.
58. Royal Warrant, 26 April 1805. Regulations for the RMA, Chelsea. MOD Library.
59. PRO WO 43/473, ff.61-64. Lord Hill, Commander-in-Chief, Horse Guards, to Secretary-at-War, 11 July 1835. Of the 4,994 boys at the Asylum since 1804, 1,703 had joined the Army.
60. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xxxii.
61. These included schools established, for example, under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Welsh Circulating Schools and the Charity Schools of the Methodist Societies.
62. Kelly T, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century (1970), pp.67-72.
63. Ibid., pp.151-152.

64. Lawson J and Silver H, A Social History of Education in England (1973), p.232.
65. Wardle D, English Popular Education, 1780-1970 (1970), pp.23-24.
66. See Chapter 2, pp.54-55.
67. Curtis S J and Boulwood M E A , An Introductory History of English Elementary Education Since 1800 (1966), p.1.
68. For example, Whitbread's Parochial Schools Bill, 1807, which recommended establishing rate-aided parish schools, was opposed by the Church of England because it feared that its control would be undermined.
69. Sturt M, The Education of the People. A History of Primary Education in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century (1967), p.4.
70. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, The Parochial Schools Bill, 13 July 1807, vol.IX, col.798.
71. See Chapter 7, pp.206-207.
72. Farquhar G, The Recruiting Officer (1704, republished 1973), Act One.
73. United Services Gazette, 31 January 1846, p.3, quoted here in Strachan H, Wellington's Legacy. The Reform of the British Army, 1830-54 (1984), p.88.
74. Marshall H, Military Miscellany. A History of the Recruiting of the British Army, Military Punishments etc (1846), pp.319-320.
75. White, op.cit., pp.21-22.
76. W Fawcett, AG to Commanding Officers of the 16th, 22nd, 34th & 65th Foot, 2 December 1797. MOD Library.
77. WO Circular letter, from the AG to all Commanding Officers, 8 November 1808. MOD Library.

78. Up to 1855, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, and the Secretary-at-War were separate offices. See Chapter 8, p.224 & Appendix A.
79. Duke of York to Palmerston, Secretary-at-War, 26 August 1811. MOD Library.
80. Warden v Bailey, English Reports, vol.128, p.253 & vol.105, p.882, quoted here in White, op.cit., p.21.
81. See Chapter 6, p.163.
82. Circular 79, WO, 27 December 1811, Palmerston to Commanding Officers, MOD Library & PRO WO 4/464, ff.85-86. Circular Letter Book, 1811-14, Secretary-at-War to Commanding Officers. See also WO 4/425, ff. 231-232. Secretary-at-War to the Treasury, 30 August 1811. In this letter, Palmerston outlines the advantages of establishing regimental schools throughout the Army.
83. General Order, 216, 1 January 1812. Establishment of Regimental Schools. MOD Library. See Appendix B.
84. Royal Warrant, 24 July 1812. Appropriation and fitting up of a suitable room as the schoolroom by the Barrack Commissioners. MOD Library.
85. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Army Estimates, 22 February 1812, vol.XX1, col.894.
86. See Jones M G, The Charity School Movement. A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action (1938), Chapter 3, Section 3, 'The Teachers' & Dent H C, The Training of Teachers in England and Wales, 1800-1975 (1977), pp.1-2.
87. Duke of York to Palmerston, 26 August 1811. MOD Library.
88. Circular 79, 27 December 1811. MOD Library.
89. PRO WO 143/29, f.406. Commandant's Letter Book, RMA, Chelsea, 1805-18, 6 February 1812. See Chapter 2, pp.56-59, for details of the course.

90. Armytage argues that the 'social fallout' from the Armed Forces and from conflict has been by no means lethal and he gives, as an example, the precedent of a state grant to elementary education with the funding of the regimental schools in 1812. Armytage W H G, 'Battles for the Best. Some Educational Aspects of the Welfare-Warfare State in England', in History and Education. The Educational Uses of the Past, Nash P (ed), (1970) pp.283 & 288.
91. Perhaps this was not surprising as officers did not mix with their men other than on special occasions, and enjoyed lengthy periods of leave: as much as four months for captains and six or more for colonels in the Brigade of Guards. Indeed, Service life was only a part of a range of activities embracing the managing of estates, participation in national and local administration and family business. See Spiers E M, The Army and Society, 1815-1914 (1980), Chapter 1, 'The Officer Corps' & Harries-Jenkins G, The Army in Victorian Society (1977), Chapter 2, 'Officer Recruitment'.
92. Jones, op.cit., Chapter 1, Section 1, 'The Age of Benevolence'.

CHAPTER 2: THE ARMY SCHOOLMASTER'S TRAINING, 1812-46

The first half of the nineteenth century, and particularly the years from 1812 to 1846, represented a pioneering period for the training of the Army schoolmaster, as it was for that of elementary teachers in general. It was not until 1846 that a formal training department or 'normal school' was established to train Army schoolmasters and similarly no training colleges existed, in the modern sense, to prepare civilian teachers for their future role until the 1840s. The foundations of these later establishments were laid during the first decades of the nineteenth century. As already discussed in Chapter 1, one such establishment was set up by the military authorities in 1812 at the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea as part of the wider educational reforms of the Duke of York, with its first course to train Army schoolmasters taking place in January of that year. The nature of this training would have been dependent upon the role of the schoolmaster within the expanding regimental school system, and the Duke, in his General Order of 1 January 1812, made it clear that this system would be the monitorial system of The Revd Dr Andrew Bell, which had been successfully adopted at the military Asylum.

Bell's system was based upon the simple principle of using pupils as teachers, the pupils teaching one another under the supervision of one master. For such a system to succeed some training for both the monitor and the master was essential. As far as the former was concerned, even if his duties were simple and repetitive it was hardly likely that a young child, perhaps only seven years old, would perform his tasks adequately without at least a modicum of preparation. Indeed, there is evidence that Bell was employed in the training of monitors at the Asylum prior to the introduction of adult training courses in 1812.¹ These monitors or young teachers were then sent to garrison schools worldwide as well as to various civilian schools in this country. If the monitor required some training, it was even more necessary for the schoolmaster himself, for he had to understand the entire system and introduce it into either a new school or one that had hitherto taught on different lines. Consequently, the kind of training that the Army schoolmaster and monitor

received was very much influenced by the introduction into the Army of Bell's monitorial system.

Given Bell's important contribution to the development of civilian education at this time there has been a tendency to overlook his impact upon military education. Yet his influence here was to be profound. One writer has gone as far as to suggest that under Bell's direction it was the Army that took the lead in the development of educational ideas, stating that Bell,

having tried out his system on soldiers' children in Madras, now introduced his system to England at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, where his methods were so successful that they were subsequently developed in the Army's schools overseas and in the English educational system at large.²

The author is right to draw attention to Bell's important contribution to military education. Whether or not there is the causal chain that he suggests is less certain. What seems likely is that Bell's system was introduced more or less simultaneously into both civilian and military schools following his return from India at the close of the eighteenth century, thus ensuring that their developments followed a broadly similar path. The aim of this chapter is, therefore, to consider both the training of the monitor and Army schoolmaster in the light of Bell's monitorial system, which was introduced into the Asylum in the first decade of the nineteenth century and into all regimental schools in 1812.

Dr Bell's monitorial system at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea

Bell had sailed for India in 1787 having found life as a clergyman in the Episcopal Church of Scotland somewhat restrictive for his ambitions. Prior to this, after graduating from St Andrews University, Bell had accepted a teaching post in Virginia, but the War of Independence had necessitated his return to England. After spending some time as a private tutor he was ordained by Barrington, Bishop of Salisbury and later Bishop of Durham, who was a firm supporter of elementary education for the poorer classes. Upon his arrival in India, Bell intended to stay in Calcutta, but in 1789 he accepted the post of superintendent

at the military orphanage at the Egmore Redoubt in Madras, an institution founded by the East India Company for the orphan sons of soldiers.³ Thus, Bell had become familiar with the military environment some time before his association with the military Asylum at Chelsea.

In India, faced with a shortage of efficient teachers, he began experiments in which the elder children taught the younger, a method which became known as the 'Madras System'. Some years later he was to explain to the Duke of York, the Commander-in-Chief, that this system had been devised in a school of the Army.⁴ Poor health led Bell to return to England in 1796 and the following year he published an account of his methods in a small book entitled An Experiment in Education, which subsequently ran through five editions.⁵ His ideas attracted considerable attention and his plan was introduced successfully into a number of charity schools. In 1798, for example, it was adopted at St Botolph's School in Aldgate and the following year at the industrial school in Kendal.⁶ Only a few years later it was also adopted at the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea.

The exact date when the monitorial system of Bell was introduced into the Asylum is unclear although it was certainly between 1803 and 1808. At one of the early meetings of the Commissioners of the Asylum, held in 1803, reference is made to the sergeant-major of instruction, who was to ensure that his 'assistants' carefully instructed the boys, and he was to examine them himself at convenient times.⁷ This might suggest that Bell's system was adopted at the Asylum from the outset, a view substantiated by a later account in 1839, which stated that from the date that it opened in 1803, the Royal Military Asylum had been conducted according to the methods laid down by Bell.⁸ Meiklejohn, however, a biographer of Bell, writing in the 1880s, stated that it was in 1808, that is five years later, that Bell was invited to remodel the Asylum.⁹ In view of the fact that in 1803 Bell was rector in Swanage, some distance from London, and that in 1807 he was given two years' leave of absence to devote all of his time to promoting his system, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was, in fact, in 1808 that he turned his

attention to the military Asylum. It was, furthermore, in this very year that Bell refers specifically to the Asylum in the fourth edition of his Experiment.

The Duke of York had directed that extracts from Bell's Instructions for Establishing and Conducting Regimental Schools (1811), be attached to his General Order of 1 January 1812, for they 'provided the best directions his Royal Highness can give for the conduct of the Regimental Schools of the British Army'.¹⁰ They were largely a rewritten version of his 1808 edition, although he reduced its length and made it more decisive when speaking of the military student. For example, in his Instructions, the latter 'is ... taught to write on a slate', whereas when referring to writing in the earlier publication intended for a wider audience, he says 'the scholar may also be taught to write on a slate'. The vocabulary was also adapted for the military environment, with 'company' being used for 'class'; 'corporal' for 'assistant teacher' and 'rank' for 'position' in the class, and so on.¹¹

Overall, these Instructions give a very clear exposition of the principles underlying the monitorial system as well as throwing considerable light upon the roles of the Army schoolmaster and monitor, as the following extract shows

Each class or company is to have a Sergeant Teacher, being one of the boys; and, if numerous, a Corporal or assistant teacher, being also one of the boys; chosen from a higher class, or from the head of his own. The rest of the class is to be paired off into Tutors and Pupils; the best or most trusty boy takes the worst; the next best, the next worst; and so on ...

The business of the teacher is to instruct and help the tutors in learning their lessons, and teaching their pupils; to prevent idleness among the class, while learning their lessons; and to hear them, when ready ...

The master or teacher should never set a lesson or task, which can require more than a quarter of an hour in the lower classes, and half an hour in the higher, for the learner to be completely master of it, and to say it well... When the lesson has been thus prepared or learnt, it is said by the scholars in portions, to the teacher, who names the boy who shall begin, the rest

following in turn: and if well said, they proceed to the next lesson; if not, they must repeat the same lesson ... till it be well learnt. The rule of the school is - short, easy, frequent and perfect lessons ...

The Sergeant-Schoolmaster, nominated by the Colonel of the Regiment ... has the immediate care, management, and direction, of the whole school... He is to encourage the diffident, the timid, and the backward; to check and repress the forward and presumptuous; to bestow just and ample commendation upon the diligent, attentive, and orderly, however dull their capacity, or slow their progress; to regulate the ambitious, rouse the indolent, and make the idle bestir themselves : in short, to deal out praise and displeasure, encouragement and threatening, according to the temper, disposition and genius, of the scholar. He is occasionally to hear and instruct the classes himself : and, still oftener, to attend to and direct the teachers, while hearing their respective class.¹²

Such a regime was ideally suited to a military environment with its hierarchical structure, its emphasis upon discipline and order, and its use of drill, repetition and practice to inculcate facts into pupils' minds. There was certainly no opportunity for spontaneous activity, nor even a chance for the pupils to ask questions, merely the necessity to accept and learn what was taught. That comprised the three Rs, reinforced with morality and religion, with each subject being divided into lessons, assimilable in so many minutes by a certain age group.

The alphabet, for example, was taught by tracing individual letters, first capitals then small in the sand and only when these were fully mastered did the child proceed to words of two letters and then one syllable. When he was 'perfectly acquainted' with the forms of these written letters he was allowed to write on a slate with a slate pencil and look at his first book. Mrs Trimmer's Charity School Spelling Book, Part One, which consisted of words of one syllable only, was considered to be most suitable for the beginner. In due course, through constant practice and repetition, the pupil progressed until he was able to attempt such books as Our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount, Parables, Miracles and later, The Chief Truths of Religion and, of course, the Bible. Such study would not only

enhance the pupils' literary skills but also impress upon them, from an early age, sound principles which would 'warn them against lying, swearing, theft, idleness, provoking conduct and the use of improper expressions'.¹³

The adoption of such techniques was not new. For centuries the teacher had broken down the subject into what, to his adult mind, appeared to be its elements and then compelled the pupil to learn it by heart. In learning to read, for example, a child would have first learnt his letters, then the syllables, then short words followed by longer ones, with no consideration given at all as to whether or not they meant anything to him. Similarly, in the early nineteenth century, these traditional methods of logical analysis into elements and learning by rote, with outside incentive supplied by emulation or the stick, were preserved unchallenged. What Bell did, however, was to elevate these techniques into a system, and a highly organized one at that, which endeavoured to provide a general education for the masses through its universal application within military circles and outside.

In essence, the monitorial system, whether adopted in military or civilian schools, was one of mass production in education, in which the factory techniques of the Industrial Revolution were applied to schools. Every characteristic was there : minute division of labour; the assembly line, with children passed on from monitor to monitor until they emerged complete from the top class; a complicated system of incentives to good work; an impersonal system of inspection and finally attention to cost effectiveness. Such a system was, to Sir Thomas Bernard, one of the founders of the Society for Bettering the Conditions of the Poor, the division of labour applied to intellectual purposes. Similarly, to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the monitorial system was an 'incomparable machine', a 'vast moral steam engine'.¹⁴

Yet despite its mechanical nature, there was something to be said for the system as far as the Army was concerned. Army children in the new regimental schools under 'trained' Army schoolmasters were undoubtedly better off than those who attended a small private school where schoolwork all too often degenerated into a

confused brawl. Although the system did force facts into the pupils' memory in a purely mechanical fashion, it did teach them to be quiet and orderly. Indeed, the very nature of the system with its regimented approach probably helped it to win support within military circles, especially as it was believed that it would provide an appropriate preparation for future Army service. The Madras system was also cheap and this was an important consideration in times of financial stringency during the Continental Wars. Many of the schoolrooms within barracks were already in existence having previously been used for other purposes, and so new and perhaps costly premises did not have to be found. But at the same time there was a recognition by its sponsors that there was an urgent need for trained teachers, for however machine-like the monitorial system might be, it had to be acquired.

By 1808 at the latest Bell himself was training senior boys at the Asylum to become assistant teachers, who were designated corporals. Specific instances can be found from the minutes of the Commissioners' meetings of boys who were sent out subsequently to organize military schools both in this country and overseas. John Duckett and Patrick Doyle, aged 12 or 13, were 'approved by the [Asylum] Committee on 8 October 1811 to go to Portugal', which was probably Wellington's school at Belem near Lisbon, 'to assist in forming a school of the soldiers' children, on Dr Bell's principles'.¹⁵ These same boys are mentioned again two years later when the adjutant of the Asylum wrote to ask that, as they were now 14 and therefore of an age when it was customary to leave the Asylum, that they be given the option of joining the Army or being apprenticed to a trade.¹⁶ Which course they chose is not known, but the records show that other boys were also being sent overseas to help in the establishment of schools based upon Bell's instructions. Thomas Allcock and James McLeod left the Asylum in 1815 and took with them a box containing books for the use of garrisons in Gibraltar,¹⁷ whilst a letter dated 11 February 1817 gave authority for 'two boys to go to Canada for the purpose of assisting in the regimental schools in that Colony'.¹⁸ Nor was such assistance confined to Army schools. In 1808 the Bishop of

Durham, for example, wrote requesting that a boy be spared from the Asylum

to accompany the Rev Dr Bell who is going into the county of Durham, for the purpose of introducing his system of instruction ... into two large schools forming in the populous parishes of Sunderland and Bishop Wearmouth.¹⁹

This was agreed, and Thomas King was 'permitted to go under the immediate care of Dr Bell'. It is interesting to note the date of the Bishop of Durham's request, for this was the year when plans were being made and the foundation stone laid for the Barrington School. This was very much the inspiration of the Bishop himself and two years later it opened, serving the dual function of charity school for the town and a training centre for teachers.²⁰

Bell himself was involved from the outset for, at the Bishop's request, he had drafted the scheme to be adopted there and even attended the school's opening ceremonies. Since Bell was engaged in the training of monitors at the Asylum by this time, and in view of the Bishop's request for assistance from the Asylum elsewhere, it is possible that he turned once again to the Asylum for support. Unfortunately the records cannot substantiate this but they do show that other schools did request and receive help from the Asylum. One Thomas Bunny was sent to Nottinghamshire at the request of Lord Spencer and did so well that he was later sent to the parish of Lutterworth in Leicestershire to undertake similar duties.²¹

Following the foundation of the National Society in 1811 the demand for youths to help in this country and overseas increased substantially. In 1812 it opened a school in Baldwin's Gardens, off the Gray's Inn Road in central London, which was to become the centre of the teacher training activities of the Society for the next 30 years before the establishment of residential colleges.²² This school, like the Barrington School, did its best to meet demand and two instances of assistance by the former are worthy of mention. In 1813, two boys, William Hobman and John Firmin, were sent to St Helena to help the East India Company in the setting up of its schools.²³ A year later a boy

was sent to HMS Tonnant to introduce 'the system' there. A subsequent report by the ship's chaplain, The Revd Morgan, was most favourable, indicating that within months the youth had 'influenced the moral conduct of the crew', as well as that of the boys on board. It would appear that this was one of the earliest attempts to introduce Bell's system into the Navy, and the records show that Sir Alexander Cockrane, the Commander-in-Chief, favoured such a course.²⁴ With the National Society besieged with requests for assistance it is possible that occasionally approaches were made to the military Asylum at Chelsea. The Society was not only well aware of its work but was also very supportive of it. Its annual report in 1815 recorded the fact that the Asylum at Chelsea 'although not formally united' was in 'close conformity with it both in principle and practice'.²⁵ Certainly Bell's reputation in his training of monitors was earning widespread recognition.

Training the Army schoolmaster, 1812-46

Given this reputation, it is perhaps not surprising that when the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York, came to consider the training of the schoolmaster in 1811, he should turn to Bell for assistance and select the Asylum as the venue for this training. One has to remember, however, that this was a time of growing rivalry between Bell and a young Quaker, Joseph Lancaster, both of whom were intent upon winning support for their respective denominational systems of education. In 1808 the Royal Lancasterian Society, later renamed and reorganized as the British and Foreign School Society, was founded to promote Lancaster's schools. By 1810 there were as many as 95 in England including the school at Borough Road which had also become a training centre for teachers. Lancaster's work stimulated the Church of England into activity and in 1811 'The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church Throughout England and Wales' was formed by prominent churchmen. It was widely supported in civilian and military circles and in the latter by the Commander-in-Chief himself who, from the outset, subscribed £105 a year.²⁶ Royal patronage was not, however, the exclusive prerogative of the National Society.

Lancaster was an effective publicist and he not only obtained an audience with the King, George III and won his approval, but also obtained the support of two of his sons, the Dukes of Sussex and Kent. The latter, in particular, took an interest in Lancaster's work, as he did in all charitable and educational organizations of this nature, and became Vice-Patron under the King of the British and Foreign School Society. In addition to his many philanthropic activities, the Duke of Kent was also Colonel of the Royals,²⁷ and as a fervent advocate of raising the educational level of his soldiers went so far as to send one of his young sergeants to the Borough Road school to be trained as a schoolmaster under Lancaster's guidance.²⁸ In 1805 Lancaster had extended his school here to include a department for the training of monitors in order that they might take charge of monitorial schools. Although originally confined to training monitors, it soon accepted the steady flow of outsiders who were keen to learn the system in order to introduce it into their own schools.

Following his course of training at Borough Road, the Army sergeant returned to his unit, then stationed at Malden in Essex, where he was appointed sergeant-schoolmaster with responsibility for opening and conducting the regimental school based on Lancaster's system of monitorial instruction. When the battalion was stationed at Dunbar, Lancaster visited the regimental school of the Royals, as the following extract from a letter written in 1849 by a retired officer of the Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel R Mullen, shows

While at Dunbar I perfectly remember Mr Lancaster coming there from London to examine the pupils as to their progress by his course of imparting knowledge, with which he was perfectly satisfied. And being desirous of conveying to the public the perfection of his system, he obtained permission, through the Duke of Kent, to take some of the young soldiers of the school with him to Edinburgh where, in the theatre, they exhibited to the entire satisfaction of a numerous audience. The regimental school attained such a high reputation that there were some regiments that applied for, and each obtained, one of the most proficient of the scholars as teachers. The battalion was removed from Dunbar to Stirling Castle in 1811, where the system was rigidly carried on, and where, so far as my recollection goes, the children of many

of the inhabitants were permitted to attend the regimental school gratuitously.²⁹

From this interesting reminiscence one can deduce that the 'Lancasterian model' was introduced into certain regiments during the first decade of the nineteenth century. It is important to note that the Lancasterian system of the Royals was initially adopted prior to the reforms of the Duke of York in 1812. It is questionable whether or not Lancaster's system was sustained and fostered after this time. Although Lancaster may have retained royal support, the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, was a devout Anglican, and thus it is not surprising that he turned to Bell for guidance. The outcome was that his system became the only method of instruction authorized in both the regimental schools and the Asylum at Chelsea, and it was here at the Asylum that Bell first introduced his courses to train Army schoolmasters.

The training of regimental schoolmaster-sergeants began in earnest at the Chelsea orphanage early in 1812 under the direct supervision of Bell himself, and by the end of the year over 100 men had been trained. It may be wondered how an already full orphanage catered for and accommodated for one month some 20 or so sergeants under training as Army schoolmasters. In fact, they were quartered in various public houses nearby, where the higher costs of living in London later gave rise to a request by the men for an increase in their ration allowance.³⁰ Courses lasted for three to four weeks and were held monthly. Numbers fluctuated considerably, and although the first course in January 1812 produced 22 sergeant-schoolmasters,³¹ only two completed the course in July before numbers rose to 14 later in the year.³²

Practically every regiment in the country was represented on these early courses, with sergeants coming from stations as far apart as Tipperary, Gloucester and Inverness. Initially nearly all attending were sergeants and thus they were fairly experienced NCOs, although a few were corporals and some only private soldiers. In fact, the tendency was increasingly to send more junior ranks. The course in October 1813, for example, which totalled eight students, included only one sergeant, six being private soldiers.³³ One can only speculate as to the

reasons for this reversal. It might well have reflected a general reluctance amongst many commanding officers to release their senior and experienced NCOs to become unit schoolmasters, whose function was considered less important than others in the regiment.

Although some commanding officers were genuinely interested in raising the educational standards of their men and had established regimental schools on their own initiative and at their own expense, many, no doubt, were merely obeying the direct orders of the Commander-in-Chief in nominating an NCO to attend for training at the Asylum. Whether or not 'properly qualified' men were selected is largely a matter of conjecture. Certainly there appears to have been no form of entrance test to assess a man's educational attainments. It is possible, therefore, that the authorities at the Asylum discovered, like the National Society, that some who attended for training were unable to write, and in some cases even to read.³⁴ In civilian training establishments a more important consideration was whether candidates possessed the right personal, especially moral, qualities. From the outset, applicants at Baldwin's Gardens had to bring with them satisfactory testimonials of their 'sobriety and good conduct' from 'one or more clergymen of the Establishment'.³⁵ In the Army it was left to the commanding officer to determine the suitability of the candidates. Despite the apparent lack of systematic scrutiny of men nominated to become Army schoolmasters, they do appear generally to have met the standards laid down by Bell, modest as these undoubtedly were. Whilst the prospective schoolmaster was exempt from an entrance test to the Asylum, he was, however, obliged to take a final examination.

During these early courses, the men were assessed by Bell himself. His reports must have been concise and to the point for Colonel G Williamson, Commandant of the Asylum at the time, in his letter to Horse Guards on the conclusion of each course, follows the nominal roll with the simple statement

I have the honour to acquaint you that the Sergeants
are reported by Dr Bell, sufficiently acquainted with

his system of education and capable of conducting their regimental schools.³⁶

No records of the course programme survive, but given the timescale, a mere three or four weeks, there was almost certainly no opportunity to improve the educational standards of the students. As the Commandant implied, the main purpose of the course was to ensure that the future Army schoolmaster became thoroughly conversant with 'the system' and his role within it. Bell's Instructions had demonstrated that the master's main responsibility was to act more as a superintendent than as a teacher, directing and supervising the monitors and generally ensuring the smooth running of his school. Under the 1812 reforms, it was also his responsibility to see that every detail was recorded in a logbook. Indeed, 'inspections' by an officer or chaplain were usually a scrutiny of these records:

At the close of the school for the day, the progress of each class is registered in a book by the teacher or master, who inserts the number of lessons read; pages, or lines ended at; and hours thus employed; in three adjoining columns. These are added weekly and monthly, and compared, by the master and teacher, with what was done the preceding day, week, month.³⁷

Under this system the teaching was delegated to the pupils themselves, Bell believing that an intelligent boy could explain things more intelligibly to his fellows than could his schoolmaster. The test of a good monitorial school was that it should run in the most mechanical and economic manner possible and with the minimum intervention by the master. The latter became, as one writer has said, merely the rather unimportant agent of an infallible organization, whose individual skill was reckoned to be a negligible factor in the school's success.³⁸ It was the system that mattered not the teacher and those who had been trained by the National Society were forbidden, when appointed to schools of their own, to depart from the 'beautiful and efficient simplicity of the system'.³⁹ As R W Rich notes, students did not attend these early training schools in order to educate themselves, or even to learn the art of teaching in general, but rather to master the tricks of the monitorial system.⁴⁰ Such aims were equally those of the Army where, as in

the civilian field, it took a long time to realize that it was an impossible task merely to 'teach the system' without giving some thought to the educational needs of the NCO who was to be trained as an Army schoolmaster. Nevertheless, in 1812, the first Army schoolmasters to undergo any formal training at all returned to their units as 'qualified' teachers.

In February 1812 Sergeant Alwood rejoined his regiment, the 2nd Battalion, 35th Foot, which was stationed at Deal, to take charge of the school there.⁴¹ Being a member of the regiment, Sergeant Alwood would have worn its uniform and been subjected to its regulations, and the success of his school, like others, would have also been largely determined by the chance support of his commanding officer. For this reason the Duke of York insisted on detailed reports being submitted on each school and its master, which resulted in the Adjutant-General issuing the following instructions from Horse Guards in January 1812

It is the Commander-in-Chief's wish to receive Returns of the Schools, stating the number of schools of each sex, with the opinions of the General Officer and the Chaplain ... as to the talents and correctness of conduct of the sergeant schoolmaster, and of the progress of the children under his tuition.⁴²

The Duke was quick to compliment those regiments that had earned a favourable report from the inspecting general, but he was equally quick to comment upon any suggestion that the colonel was giving too little attention to his school. For example, a stiff letter from the Duke to the commanding officer, 2nd Battalion, 44th Regiment, began 'The Commander-in-Chief is at a loss to conceive on what pretext the schoolmaster-sergeant could have been delayed in Lisbon'.⁴³ Similarly, he remarked upon the omission from a report from the Stirling Militia of the 'necessary information relative to the progress of the regimental school'.⁴⁴

Apart from a share in the annual report there was, however, no other form of inspection, and with the passage of time reference to the unit school became a routine, perfunctory affair.⁴⁵ The commanding officer's will went largely unchecked, he alone

appointing the sergeant-schoolmaster and dismissing him if necessary, as well as determining whether or not he was to be trained. For despite the Order of 1812, which stated that schoolmasters were to undergo a period of training at the Asylum, from 1814 onwards only occasionally was a student sent there. There were certainly no large courses until the system was completely reorganized in 1846. Again one can only speculate as to the reasons for this. It may have been that by 1815 the majority of units had a trained schoolmaster on their establishment thus obviating the need for further training at the Asylum. Whilst this may have been the case for a few years, with the passage of time the need must have arisen to train their successors.

Another and perhaps more likely reason for the diminishing number attending the Asylum for training was that the initial enthusiasm which had surrounded the educational reforms of 1812 had waned. Although the first students who underwent training at the Asylum were supervised directly by Bell himself, very soon he gave up this task.⁴⁶ This role was assumed by the chaplain-headmaster who might well have been unable to devote as much time to this as he might have wished. It will be recalled that by this time the number of children there had reached over 1,000.⁴⁷ Perhaps a more severe blow to the training of the Army schoolmaster as well as to Army education in general was the death of the Duke of York in 1827. He had founded the school in 1801 and had taken a real and personal interest in all aspects of its work as well as in the regimental school system as a whole. With his death there was no longer the same attention at the highest level, at least as far as the soldier and his children were concerned.

Writing some 20 years later in the Quarterly Review, The Revd G R Gleig, who was then Principal Chaplain to the Forces and who, as will be seen, was to play a significant role in the training of Army schoolmasters and the development of the regimental school system in the mid-nineteenth century,⁴⁸ described the decline in educational standards since the time of the Duke of York's reforms of 1812. The regimental schools of those days compared most favourably with the village schools in the country at large.

Gleig explained that since then 'the progress of events had reversed this order of things', and that Army schools 'from that at Chelsea, to the school of the last regiment which has returned in a disorganized state from the East, are miserably behind'.⁴⁹ This state of affairs was, according to Gleig, largely the result of inadequate training of the Army's schoolmasters. Of the teachers at the Asylum, he wrote that they

continue to be selected from among discharged non-commissioned officers of the army - who know nothing themselves except how to read and write and do the first four rules of arithmetic - it is manifest, that beyond the power of mechanically performing similar feats they can hardly pretend to carry their pupils.⁵⁰

Of schoolmaster-sergeants in general he wrote, somewhat despairingly

Not one out of twenty is fit for his place, and the twentieth, though competent to teach imperfectly all that he himself knows, does not know enough to undertake the sort of task which we have in contemplation for him.⁵¹

Gleig continued

We must ... before a single step is taken to fit up school-rooms, or to better the condition of schoolmasters, provide ourselves with men qualified to undertake the office, and this is only to be done by providing for the army a college, or normal school, at which young men may be educated for the express purpose of passing out of the seminary to take charge of the schools of regiments.⁵²

Within months of the publication of his article in the Quarterly Review, steps were taken to realize Gleig's hopes. A normal school for the training of the Army's schoolmasters, who were formed into a professional Corps of Army Schoolmasters, was established at the Asylum at Chelsea,⁵³ and which was to survive for 40 years. More generally, the Army's schools passed from regimental control to inspectors of education who represented the military authorities. The Army was once again to be at the forefront of educational ideas.

Overall, during the first 40 years of the nineteenth century and especially the first two decades, the military authorities had

made great strides in the provisioning of its regimental schools. In spite of, latterly, growing criticism from some quarters, it would be wrong to belittle the importance of these years and the contribution of Bell and the Duke of York in particular. Together they had achieved much. The introduction of the monitorial system into the Asylum in the early years of the century and soon afterwards into all regimental schools had necessitated some training for the monitor, and the success of this scheme at the Royal Military Asylum was even recognized outside military educational circles. Equally, the military authorities accepted that the Army schoolmaster, in overall charge of the school, also required some preparation for his future role. Consequently, a training course, albeit one of short duration, was introduced at the Asylum in 1812. Although this had lapsed by the 1840s, a precedent had been established and this made it easier for those concerned with educational reform at this time to propose a more thorough programme of training for the Army schoolmaster. By this time military reformers were also able to look to the newly-created civilian teacher training institutions for guidance. Above all, in Gleig, the Army found a man who had both the drive and determination to implement change.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 2

1. See pp.48-49 of this chapter.
2. St John Williams N T, Tommy Atkins' Children. The Story of the Education of the Army's Children, 1675-1970 (1971), p.26.
3. The orphanage was supported not only by the East India Company and voluntary subscriptions but also by fines imposed for drunkenness in the Army. See Meiklejohn J M D, An Old English Educational Reformer. Dr Bell(1881), p.24. See also the Dictionary of National Biography, which states that Bell was appointed to eight Army chaplaincies, all of which he held simultaneously.
4. Meiklejohn, op.cit., p.48. The 'Army' of which Bell spoke was that of the East India Company and not the Army of the Crown. Up until 1858, following the Mutiny, the two armies were quite distinct. Nevertheless, during the first half of the nineteenth century it was Bell's system of education that prevailed in both armies.
5. Salmon D (ed), The Practical Parts of Lancaster's Improvements and Bell's Experiment(1932), pp.xiv-xxii.
6. Curtis S J and Boulwood M E A, An Introductory History of English Elementary Education Since 1800 (1966), pp. 9-10 & Curtis S J, History of Education in Great Britain (1957), pp. 206-207.
7. PRO WO 143/6, ff. 51-70. Minutes of HM Commissioners, RMA, Chelsea, 1801-13, 2 April 1803.
8. Board held at Horse Guards, 18 April 1839, quoted here from Bowyer-Bower T A, 'A Pioneer in Army Education: The Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, 1801-21', in British Journal of Educational Studies, vol.4, no.1, November 1955, pp.122-132, at p.127.
9. Meiklejohn, op.cit., p.48.

10. PRO WO 44/647. Bell's Instructions for Establishing and Conducting Regimental Schools, 1811. Ordnance Correspondence. See also Bowyer-Bower, op.cit., p.129.
11. Bell's Instructions for Establishing and Conducting Regimental Schools, 1811, p.13.
12. Ibid., pp.13-20.
13. Ibid., pp.26-35.
14. Quoted in Armytage W H G, Four Hundred Years of English Education (1970), pp.89-90.
15. PRO WO 143/29, f.390. Commandant's Letter Book, RMA, Chelsea, 1805-18, 10 October 1811.
16. Ibid., f.485, 28 September 1813.
17. Ibid., f.587, 4 September 1815.
18. Ibid., f.665, 11 February 1817.
19. PRO WO 143/6, f.427. Minutes of HM Commissioners, RMA, Chelsea, 1801-13, 30 March 1808.
20. Annual Report of the National Society, 1814. See also Dobson J L, 'The Barrington School at Bishop Auckland', in Durham Research Review, no.5, September 1954, pp.34-46.
21. PRO WO 143/6, f.473. Minutes of HM Commissioners, RMA, Chelsea, 1801-13, 24 December 1808.
22. Annual Report of the National Society, 1812, p.16 & Appendix VII.
23. The Records of the National Society, the School Committee of the National Society, vol.1, January 1812 - October 1815, ff. 77-80.
24. Annual Reports of the National Society, 1815, p.17 & 1816, pp.23-24.

25. Annual Report of the National Society, 1815, p.20.
26. Annual Report of the National Society, 1812, p.69.
27. Now known as the Royal Scots.
28. Colonel A E Watts, 'An Early Instance of Civilian Assistance to Army Education', in Journal of the Royal Army Educational Corps, vol.XXIV, no.3, September 1950, pp.106-110, at p.109.
29. Ibid., pp.109-110.
30. PRO WO 143/29, f.408. Commandant's Letter Book, RMA, Chelsea, 1805-18. Commandant to Secretary-at-War, 14 February 1812.
31. Ibid., f.406. Commandant, RMA, Chelsea to AG, 6 February 1812.
32. Ibid., ff.433 & 444, 13 July 1812 & 15 October 1812.
33. Ibid., f.486, 13 October 1813.
34. Dent H C, The Training of Teachers in England and Wales, 1800-1975 (1977), p.6.
35. National Society Records, The School Committee of the National Society, vol.1, January 1812 - October 1815, pp.13-14.
36. PRO WO 143/29, f.406. Commandant's Letter Book, RMA, Chelsea, 1805-18. Commandant to AG, 6 February 1812.
37. PRO WO 44/647. Bell's Instructions for Establishing and Conducting Regimental Schools, 1811. Ordnance Correspondence, p.37.
38. Wardle D, English Popular Education, 1780-1970 (1970), p.102.
39. Rich R W, The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century (1933), p.2.

40. Ibid., p.7.
41. PRO WO 3/359, f.112. Commander-in-Chief to Regimental Officers, 15 February 1812.
42. AG to Commanding Officers, 18 January 1812. RAEC Archives.
43. Horse Guards to 2nd Battalion, 44th Regiment, 26 August 1813. RAEC Archives.
44. Horse Guards to the Stirling Militia, c. 1813. RAEC Archives.
45. PRO WO 27/476, ff.232 & 267. The annual inspection report required the inspecting general to comment upon standards in the regimental school and the frequency of visits by the commanding officer. These comments rarely exceeded one word eg 'satisfactory', 'yes' and so on.
46. PRO WO 143/29, f.436. Commandant's Letter Book, RMA, Chelsea, 1805-18. Adjutant, RMA to AG, 6 August 1812.
47. XIXth Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry, 1812, P.P., IV, 1812, Appendix 23.
48. See Chapter 3, pp.68-82.
49. Gleig G R, 'Education and Lodging of the Soldier', in Quarterly Review, vol.77, no. 154, March 1846, pp.526-563, at p.545.
50. Ibid., p.544.
51. Ibid., p.549.
52. Ibid., loc.cit.
53. See Chapter 3, pp.83-84.

CHAPTER 3: THE 'GOLDEN ERA' OF ARMY EDUCATION

1846 was a momentous year for the Army schoolmaster and Army education in general. It saw the founding of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters which was to survive until 1920 when it was succeeded by the Army Educational Corps; the appointment of the first Inspector-General of Army Schools and the creation of a normal or training school at the Asylum at Chelsea. These developments were to have a considerable influence upon the professionalism and status of the Army schoolmaster. The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to trace the sequence of events which culminated in the reforms of that year. The credit for these initiatives, which were not without their critics, must go to Gleig himself for devising them and also to Sir Sidney Herbert, Secretary-at-War from 1845-46, for implementing them. Undoubtedly influenced by educational developments outside the Army, both men moved swiftly and decisively to bring about educational reform and to usher in what may be described as a 'golden era' in Army education during the mid-nineteenth century.

The need for reform had already been identified in the early 1840s when Henry Hardinge was Secretary-at-War. In a letter to the Commissioners of the Asylum in 1842 he expressed the view that there was room for improvement in the educational system and requested their comments. Hardinge asked them whether it would not be possible 'to bring about a more uniform and efficient course of education, by providing for the periodical inspection of regimental schools, and by prescribing some rules to ensure the competence of the teacher, previous to his appointment by the commanding officer'.¹ Hardinge had highlighted directly two of the weaknesses of the system: the absence of any method to ensure the initial competence of the schoolmaster and the subsequent lack of efficient and regular inspection of his performance. Indirectly, he alluded to the third weakness of the system, namely the lack of some superior authority above the commanding officer to oversee the entire system.

Considering first the question of inspection, Hardinge wondered how far the Asylum might be able to assist by 'occasional

inspectors being sent to regiments to report on the state, system and management of Regimental Schools'.² He pointed out that Army chaplains, who had been given this responsibility under the reforms of 1812, were too few in number³ and, in any case, they had no executive powers to carry out any recommendations that they made. One must also remember that at home civilian clergy officiated in many Army stations and they had even less influence than their military counterparts; indeed, it is doubtful whether they had any rights in Army schools at all. Hardinge considered requesting assistance from 'inspectors of national schools', but felt this to be unreasonable as so many of the regimental schools were in the colonies and schools at home were constantly liable to move.⁴ Although agreeing that it was 'indispensably necessary' for periodic inspection to be carried out by a properly qualified person, the Commissioners said that the resources of the Asylum were already overstretched and that they believed the clergyman to be the best person to perform this task. Turning their attention to the training of the Army schoolmaster, the Commissioners were more constructive, advocating the re-introduction of training courses at the Asylum.⁵ No further action was taken at the time and it was left to Gleig to take up and develop these ideas following his appointment as Principal Chaplain in 1844.

The Revd G R Gleig (1796-1888)

The Revd George Robert Gleig was one of the outstanding figures in the field of military education in the mid-nineteenth century. His work led to significant changes in the approach to and practice of education in the Army.⁶ Of particular relevance to this study was the part he played in the reform of the regimental schools and in particular the Asylum where his role in the establishment of the Normal School was considerable. He was a man of immense energy and forthrightness, qualities which had been strengthened by the exceptional circumstances of his early life. The son of the Bishop of Brechin, Gleig received his early education in Scotland, becoming an undergraduate at Glasgow University at the age of 13 before going as an Exhibitioner of

Balliol College, Oxford, at 15. In 1812, at the age of 16, he entered the Army as an ensign in the Light Infantry, joining Wellington's Army in the Peninsula. Before the age of 21 Gleig was to be wounded three times whilst in the Peninsula and again in the fighting for New Orleans. His military career found expression in his two books, The Subaltern (1825) and A Subaltern in America (1827), which were based upon events in the Peninsular Wars and the American War of 1812. His experiences in these conflicts made him acutely conscious of the Army's need to pay more attention to the welfare of its men, physically and morally, and this was to influence his later efforts to improve educational opportunities for the soldier.

With the end of the Continental Wars following Waterloo, Gleig resigned his commission and returned to his studies at Oxford where he graduated in 1818, receiving his MA three years later. In 1820 he was ordained by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but the need to maintain a family on the small stipend of a country rector led him to supplement his income by writing. His novel of the Peninsular Wars, The Subaltern, brought him to the attention of the Duke of Wellington of whom he became the intimate friend and biographer. His influence helped Gleig obtain the chaplaincy of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea in 1834, although by this time his writings had made him a nationally known figure. Gleig had been offered this position by Lord John Russell, Paymaster-General in the administration of Earl Grey (1830-34), the post of chaplain at the Royal Hospital being the gift of the Paymaster-General in his capacity as chairman of the Commissioners of the Hospital. The offer came as a surprise to Gleig for he was not in sympathy with the administration's policies on parliamentary reform. He had, however, received support from the Duke of Wellington who had disclosed that, like most good clergymen of the Church of England, Gleig was a 'zealous Conservative politician', but that he did not believe Gleig to be a party writer or to have engaged in party discussions.⁷ Fraser's Magazine very much welcomed Gleig's appointment, pointing out that he was the only eminent man in the Church who had worn a sabre and that, consequently, the 'old heathens of the Hospital' might be more willing to listen to him.⁸

Gleig remained at Chelsea until 1844 when he was made Principal Chaplain to the Forces, largely at the instigation of Hardinge in order to revive the Chaplains' Department, which had reached a 'deplorable' state by this time. Ironically, it was Hardinge himself who had contributed to this state of affairs, for he had reduced the status of the office of Chaplain-General to Principal Chaplain in 1830, with the result that by 1844 there was no firm direction at the top.⁹ To provide such leadership Gleig was offered the post of Principal Chaplain which he accepted; in 1846 he became Chaplain-General to the Forces when the post was revived, a position he held until 1875 when he was nearly 80 years old. During the period 1846-57 he also acted as Inspector-General of Army Schools, working hard to improve the range and quality of the regimental school system.

Throughout his life Gleig was very much concerned about the general welfare of the soldier, writing extensively on his background, reasons for enlisting and the conditions he endured, both physical and moral.¹⁰ In examining life in the Army at the time Gleig sought reform in its educational system, which he believed should go along with other reforms being demanded in the lifestyle of the soldier. His views were made public in official reports, although these were sometimes suppressed, and so he articulated them in journalistic writings, a practice not uncommon in the Services. In a series of articles in the Quarterly Review, written between 1845 and 1848, Gleig argued that there was a need to improve the character of the soldier once he had entered the Army and to prepare him for his eventual discharge.¹¹ He pointed out that the majority of soldiers joined their regiments under 19 years of age, and he asked

What is to prevent our taking these lads in hand, and not only drilling them till they become smart and active soldiers, but educating and otherwise training them, so that they shall turn out good members of society - intelligent, well-behaved, and capable, when they return home, of giving a tone to the manners of the village or the street?¹²

These young men, explained Gleig, 'come to us at the very period of life when the moral and intellectual natures of men are most

susceptible of cultivation' and he urged that advantage be taken of these circumstances to 'communicate to them such knowledge as shall enlarge their minds, confirm their better principles, and induce in them such habits and tastes as may by degrees render them proof against the temptations to which the nature of their calling exposes them'.¹³ Like many of his military colleagues, Gleig was concerned at the many moral lapses and military offences which were often the result of drunkenness and which in turn stemmed from under-employment and a lack of organized recreation. Only a decade earlier, in 1836, a Royal Commission on Military Punishments had likewise argued that if crime originated in drink, then the long-term solution was a more gainful occupation of the soldier's time and even his mind. To this end, it recognized the contribution that the regimental schools and reading rooms could make, as well as the wider provision of games.¹⁴ As will be discussed in Chapter 7, the expansion of libraries and recreation rooms in the mid-nineteenth century emanated from the need to occupy usefully the soldier's considerable leisure time.

Gleig fully supported the views expressed by the Commissioners, believing that the solution lay in the encouragement of moral discipline through education, religious instruction and faith. Thus, he called for the wider provision of chapels and chaplains at home and overseas, and also for more schools and better qualified Army schoolmasters. Gleig's writings demonstrate clearly that he perceived education as having three dimensions: religious, moral and intellectual. His concern for the latter was evident in his article entitled 'Education and Lodging of the Soldier' in which he contrasted the education of the Army's two forces: the Army of the Line and the Scientific Corps. Soldiers in the latter, which comprised the Royal Regiment of Artillery and the Regiment of Royal Sappers and Miners, who were unable to read or write, soon found themselves back at school. The soldier who joined a regiment of infantry or cavalry fared differently. He spent his time drilling or on guard duty and, as Gleig said, 'whether he can read or write, whether there be any mind in him at all, or any powers of exercising it, nobody, so

long as he continues not to get reported to his officers, thinks of enquiring'.¹⁵ Important as it was to cultivate the intellect, the schoolmaster's primary responsibility was, however, to sow the seeds of 'pure tastes and habits'.¹⁶ In this, Gleig was undoubtedly influenced by contemporary educators and in particular David Stow from Scotland. Gleig had, after all, been brought up in Scotland and, significantly, when the Normal School at Chelsea was established in 1846, employed as headmaster of the Model School a teacher, Mr Walter Mcleod, who had been trained at Stow's Glasgow Seminary.¹⁷

Stow was one of the leading influences on elementary education at this time. He had been involved in social work among the poor of Glasgow and it was from this experience that he developed a conception of the school as an instrument of social regeneration, emphasizing the moral training of the child as of first importance. Just as Gleig saw the function of the Army school as a means of helping both the soldier and his child to rise above the often demoralizing influences of the Army environment, so Stow envisaged that the civilian school could provide a similar antidote to the influence of large towns and manufacturing villages.¹⁸ Yet schools were exerting less influence than they might because the prevailing system of education was concerned almost entirely with the acquisition of knowledge rather than sound habits. He believed that education had moral, social and physical, as well as intellectual dimensions and that a system was needed to reflect this: one which would be applicable not merely to the head of the child, but to his whole being. Stow was equally critical of the teaching method of rote learning which was based on the belief that education was primarily external, determined and imposed upon the child from outside. In Stow's view it was absurd to compare the mind to wet clay ready to be moulded, for all education was essentially self-education and it was the teacher's job to foster self-activity and direct it, to arouse worthy motives and to plant ideals. Such a role clearly demanded a better educated and trained teacher than under the monitorial system.

Neither Stow nor Gleig were impressed with the systems of Bell and Lancaster. Monitors, according to Stow, may impart facts but they could not teach; they were all very well for carrying out the mechanical detail of the school such as giving out pens, arranging desks or hearing spelling, but they made poor teachers, for the very essence of education involved the influence of a cultivated on an uncultivated mind in awakening thought, stimulating and directing enquiry, and evoking the energies of intellect. He believed that 'an apprenticeship is as requisite for the profession of the schoolmaster, as that of any other art' and, he went on, 'it appears extraordinary, that while we would not employ a gardener or mechanic who had not been trained, we should employ young men to experiment upon our children, who, however well informed themselves, have yet to acquire the art of communicating their knowledge to others'.¹⁹ Consequently, Stow advocated a course of training at a normal school for all prospective schoolmasters. Gleig fully endorsed Stow's thinking. The monitor, Gleig argued, did not understand the art of teaching. 'He may train his pupils to write tolerable hands, and to say the multiplication tables, and to read with correctness a chapter of the New Testament, but to bring their minds ... into working condition, is not in him, because he has never himself been taught how to teach'.²⁰ There was, therefore, the 'greatest need' for a training college for the Army schoolmaster.

His years as Principal Chaplain provided Gleig with a firm base and foothold for his endeavours in military education. Not only did he begin to restore a run-down Chaplains' Department but he also re-established the right and duty of the chaplains to inspect the regimental schools. Within weeks of his appointment every military chaplain had received an instruction to visit the schools in his vicinity once a week, adding that 'Twice will be better, if he can find time to do so'. In addition, he was to visit the library periodically and do all he could to encourage sound reading habits among the troops.²¹ Soon after his appointment, Gleig made an official tour of inspection of the home stations looking at the work of both Army chaplain and schoolmaster. Beginning in Dublin, Gleig inspected 'everything'

and by the time he had finished, Horse Guards began to falter and to wish they had kept him under their eye.²² A year later he widened his knowledge and understanding of military education when he was sent on a tour of Europe visiting educational establishments in France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia and Saxony. On his return he drew up a wide-ranging report which included not only the training of officers for staff appointments, but also touched upon the subject of the regimental schools and the training of teachers. In his opinion, greater attention was paid to elementary education in Europe and was reflected, for example, in France where every schoolmaster held the rank of lieutenant.²³

Within six months of his appointment, Gleig had submitted his first official report on the regimental schools. Like Hardinge, Gleig felt that there was considerable room for improvement in particular areas of education, although he also believed that on the whole the education received by children and adults in the regimental schools of the British Army was a good one. He was determined to ensure that this state of affairs continued and drew attention to the 'enormous strides' being made by the National Society's schools, adding that 'it will never do for us to be left behind'.²⁴ Living within the neighbourhood of both the Battersea Training College and St Mark's, and thus familiar with their work, Gleig became imbued with the notion of improving both the Asylum and the Army's schools in general.²⁵

Gleig had already turned his attention to ways of improving school accommodation, for as he toured the country he was appalled at some of the schools and also church buildings. As the person responsible for both, but at the same time aware of the need for economy, he suggested providing new barracks with a room that would serve a dual purpose. His idea of 'chapel-schools' won the approval of the Secretary-at-War and the Ordnance Officer, and was one that was often followed when new buildings were erected or older ones converted. In 1846-47 rooms of this kind were put up at Glasgow, Parkhurst and Hounslow.²⁶ But the weakest point of the Army schools, Gleig argued, lay in the variable quality of teaching and thus the first priority was

the training of the Army schoolmaster. Gleig proposed two ways of achieving this: either by taking advantage of one of the civilian training institutions of the National Society or by establishing one of the Army's own. Gleig had certainly given some thought to the use of civilian colleges and had visited the Colleges at Battersea and St Mark's in 1844.

This was a period of great activity in civilian education with the founding of a number of training colleges by the two religious societies, the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, and this was to have an influence upon Army education. The extension of the government grant for education by the newly-created Committee of the Privy Council on Education in 1839, to include teacher training, undoubtedly facilitated the expansion of these training institutions. The Committee had hoped to establish a training college itself for elementary school teachers but it had led to an outburst of sectarian protest and the project was abandoned. Following the failure to establish a government training college, Kay-Shuttleworth, the first Secretary of the Committee, opened his own college at Battersea in 1840. Faced, however, with increasing financial difficulties he handed it over to the National Society in 1843. Gleig visited the College very shortly after this, describing it as 'admirably conducted' under its 'zealous and devoted' principal, The Revd Jackson. He was thus pleased to learn that the College was willing to train any number of regimental schoolmasters and as many as eight or nine or perhaps more soldiers.²⁷ Overall, Gleig was convinced that the training undertaken at Battersea was by far the most appropriate of the colleges he had visited for the purposes of the Army. Certainly the aims of the College, formulated by its founder, Kay-Shuttleworth, were in accord with those of Gleig.

Kay-Shuttleworth set out to educate the students at Battersea as well as to provide professional training, something all colleges had to do sooner or later so long as their students lacked a secondary education. But education for Kay-Shuttleworth meant moral rather than intellectual education, although he did not

minimize the importance of the latter. Influenced by Scottish as well as by continental educators, particularly the work of Vehrli at his normal seminary at Kreuzlingen in Switzerland which he visited in 1839, Kay-Shuttleworth believed the main objective of a normal school was the formation of character. He was convinced that if men were to teach successfully the lower classes they had to be motivated by a real sense of vocation, and it was the duty of the training college to foster this.²⁸ These aims, he believed, could best be met if students lived within the college walls, where they would be less affected by outside influences. The residential nature of Battersea was one of its characteristics that recommended it to Gleig who feared that if Army pupils had to make their own arrangements for accommodation, it would have an adverse effect upon moral and social development.²⁹ This was one of the reasons why he dismissed the possibility of using the National Society's College at Westminster, although he also believed that the six month course there was too short for all 'except where there is a peculiar gift or talent in the learner'.³⁰

At Battersea, Gleig had been particularly impressed with the professional training of the students who received lectures on the theory and practice of education; managing and instructing a class and on the discipline and organization of schools, as well as being given the opportunity of doing some teaching themselves. The person responsible for this was Walter Mcleod, the 'master of method',³¹ who ran the local village school at Battersea where students practised the art of teaching. Before taking up his post at Battersea, Mcleod had been a master at the Poor Law School at Norwood³² and was one of a number of trained teachers whom Kay-Shuttleworth brought south of the border. What is of particular interest to this study, however, is that Mcleod became 'master of method' and headmaster of the Model School at the Royal Military Asylum, following its reorganization in 1846.³³ It would seem reasonable to suppose that Gleig had recommended him for the post following his visit to the school at Battersea in 1844, when he described it as 'one of the very best parochial schools I have ever visited'.³⁴ Kay-Shuttleworth had been

equally impressed with Mcleod's abilities, writing in 1846, shortly after he had left Battersea

... I wish here to pay a just tribute to the intelligence, earnestness and skill of Mr Walter Macleod [sic]... As the head master of the Norwood School, he was always ready to adopt any of my suggestions, and had a remarkable aptitude, not only in apprehending the principles of any new method, but singular skill in carrying it into practice. Thus he eagerly adopted all my plans for the training of pupil teachers.³⁵

Mcleod was certainly familiar with the pupil-teacher system that was practised in Holland for he had visited that country with Kay-Shuttleworth in 1839. This, together with his own training in Scotland, provided an important link between the work being undertaken on the Continent and in Scotland and future developments in England, both in civilian and military elementary schools. Indeed, his appointment to the Model School at Chelsea, which he was to hold for over 25 years, helped to ensure that the Army's training establishment was one of the most advanced of its day. Writing some years later, after he had retired as Inspector-General of Army Schools, Gleig said of Mcleod, 'I held Mcleod in the highest esteem ... he has made his mark upon the Army, and will be long remembered as one of the best teachers of elementary knowledge England has ever produced'.³⁶

The third training establishment that Gleig considered was St Mark's College, Chelsea, which had opened in 1840 and was run by The Revd Derwent Coleridge. The latter also stressed the importance of religious and intellectual training but differed from Kay-Shuttleworth at Battersea in one important respect: at Battersea little or no appeal was made to the students' desire for self-advancement in the worldly sense, with the whole emphasis being on reconciling them to a life of hard work and comparative penury. Coleridge, in contrast, believed that the better the schoolmaster was bred, the more highly he was trained and the more he was socially respected, the more ready he would be to combat any difficulties, to submit to the monotony of his work and 'to move with quiet dignity in the humblest of his vocation'. Hence he considered that it was part of the work of

the training college deliberately to raise the students above their station, emphasizing the academic side of work at Chelsea with a corresponding lessening of interest in professional training.

Coleridge's views led to some criticism, for it was contended that he organized courses that were too elaborate and likely to unsettle the students and make them averse to accepting the simple duties of teachers of the poor. In fact a number did take up educational duties in schools other than elementary, entered the Church or even pursued work not of an educational nature at all.³⁷ Indeed, one of the main criticisms of the College was that it was as much concerned with promoting the interests of the Anglican Church, by providing a supply of recruits to its lower ranks, as with the furtherance of elementary education. In this context, Gleig's remark that it was an 'admirable institution of its kind' but probably 'better calculated to educate them for some inferior office in the Church than for anything else', is more readily understood.³⁸ Perhaps not surprisingly Gleig concluded that St Mark's would not be appropriate. There was, however, another reason why Gleig was averse to using civilian colleges to train Army schoolmasters.

Gleig was anxious to avoid the religious controversy which was developing in civilian elementary education, where the Church of England claimed its traditional right to control education in the face of growing opposition from the Nonconformist minority. To some extent there was no real problem for Gleig because the Anglican ethos was so well established in the Army that it was simply not a controversial issue. He was, nevertheless, mindful of his instructions as Chaplain-General that he must be aware at all times of the different denominations represented in the Army. Thus he argued that soldiers should be 'at perfect liberty to choose the particular form under which they shall worship their Maker, and branch off, every Sunday, into parties, according as they happen to be Churchmen, Roman Catholics, or Protestant non-conformists'.³⁹

Gleig clearly did not underestimate the difficulties of avoiding religious strife in the Army. He believed that to introduce into

the Army, which comprised men and children of many denominations,

an educational system which, without putting in abeyance religious instruction, should yet deal with it in such a manner as to gratify all without offending the prejudices of any, was an undertaking from which timid or bigoted theorists would have shrunk.⁴⁰

Yet, he continued, 'the men themselves would reject, especially for their children, any system of education which was avowedly divorced from religious instruction'.⁴¹ To this extent he reflected the views of most people for, as yet, only a small minority favoured a purely secular education. Where Gleig differed from many was in his support for a non-sectarian religious education in schools, military and civilian. If prospective Army schoolmasters attended Church of England training establishments Gleig believed that this would be hard to sustain. In a report to the Secretary-at-War in 1844, Gleig put forward the idea of a separate military teacher-training establishment without sectarian links.⁴² Gleig felt that it would not only be unwise to allow the National Society to assume the task of educating the Army's schoolmasters but also unreasonable to expect it to do so for any length of time as it would be an 'enormous expense'. Gleig maintained, therefore, that if the military authorities intended to use the facilities of the National Society they should bear their full share of the costs. But Gleig did not think this necessary, for the Army had the means of establishing its own institution for the training of Army schoolmasters at the Asylum at Chelsea. The latter had a tradition of training Army schoolmasters and also available facilities; it had originally been erected to accommodate 1,400 orphans and yet by 1846 there were less than 400. 'A very trifling outlay' would enable the authorities 'to fit up a portion of that building as a college for regimental schoolmasters'.⁴³

Gleig concluded his report to the Secretary-at-War by drawing the latter's attention to the fact that his proposals would benefit not only the regimental schools in general but the Asylum in particular, which he believed to be in need of reform. He drew attention to a report which had spoken disparagingly of the

education provided there, although he pointed out that his own personal acquaintance with the Asylum was not intimate. Even so, Gleig must have had a fair understanding of the work undertaken at the Asylum having lived next door to it from 1834 to 1844 when chaplain of the Royal Hospital. In the summer of 1845, his views were more than confirmed when he visited the Asylum with Mr A Baring, the Paymaster-General of the Forces and, ex-officio, a Commissioner of the Asylum. So began a train of events which led to the total reform of that institution, as Gleig describes in an article in the Edinburgh Review in 1852.

Having outlined how the Asylum was founded, and having paid tribute to the Duke of York for his part in this, Gleig went on to compare the official reports on the Asylum with his own observations. Year by year the Commissioners had recorded in their minute book the flourishing state of the Asylum. The masters and mistresses were described as 'attentive and able; the general discipline mild, the children were healthy, happy, and of good report; the system, as regarded both nurture and education, was perfect'. Gleig distrusted these reports, for the teachers were known to be discharged sergeants who frequented the local public houses and whose 'manner of expressing themselves in common conversation was not such as to create a very lively impression of their aptitude to communicate to others either their literary tastes or urbanity of manners'.⁴⁴ Those who walked past the Asylum and glanced through the rails could see

...poor, thin, wanfaced, spiritless - looking children, many of whom had their heads covered with black silk caps - a sure token of disease - while not a few wandered about dragging heavy logs which were fastened with chains to their ankles.⁴⁵

Such outward and visible signs did not correspond very accurately with the inward grace of which the Commissioners had boasted. Gleig's fears were confirmed by his visit. Arriving unannounced, the two men found the Asylum in what might be called its 'every-day dress'. Gleig described the scene thus

Four or five groups of boys were gathered round as many sergeant-masters, some bawling out sounds,

which were not words, though they intended to represent them; some roaring forth arithmetical tables; some repeating the church catechism at the top of their voices; some conversing, and all shuffling and struggling, among themselves. There was no order, no regularity, no attention... As to the acquirements of these poor lads, their proficiency proved, on examination, to be exactly such as might have been expected. They had learned nothing. They could not read, they could not write, they could not cipher, they could not spell... "We can't help it, Sir," said one of the sergeant-schoolmasters, when appealed to on the subject of his school. "We never learned these things ourselves. How can we pretend to teach them?"⁴⁶

The sequel to their visit was an official inspection of the Asylum carried out by Henry Moseley of the Privy Council Office. His report was submitted to the Committee of the Council on Education and it comprised what must have been one of the most damning indictments ever delivered upon a public institution.⁴⁷ Moseley concluded that he had 'been led to form of this school an estimate far more unfavourable than that which I have ever recorded of any other'. Indeed, in his experience of inspecting elementary schools, none was 'so little deserving of commendation'.⁴⁸ He attributed this to a narrow curriculum, a lack of resources and the inadequacy of the schoolmasters.

Moseley explained that, in his experience, when the curriculum was wide the children attained good standards in the three Rs. At the Asylum the subjects were restricted to the three Rs with some time spent on industrial pursuits. He drew particular attention to the 'remarkable deficiency' of general knowledge, especially concerning the Empire. Yet these orphans more than most children, he believed, required the school to widen their experience and knowledge. The equipment was hardly sufficient to ensure this. There were no blackboards, easels, maps or globes and although a lending library existed, only boys of 12 years of age or more were allowed to borrow books and then only one book every other week! As far as textbooks were concerned, in over 40 years since the opening of the Asylum in 1803, all that had been accumulated were Bibles, catechisms, spelling books, Mrs Markham's History of England and a volume entitled Manners of the

Jews. The final cause of ignorance Moseley attributed to the instructors who were sergeants under the supervision of a sergeant-major of instruction. Of the former he wrote

In respect to their qualifications for the responsible duty of instructing youth I have no other means of forming an opinion than that which is supplied me by the gross ignorance of the boys under their charge.⁴⁹

1846: 'a momentous year'

It was now the responsibility of the new Secretary-at-War, Sir Sidney Herbert, to act upon Moseley's report. Herbert worked closely with Gleig to bring about the necessary reforms, the former looking to Gleig for guidance and the latter finding in the Secretary-at-War strong and sympathetic leadership. In many respects the two men were quite dissimilar: Gleig, outward-going and ebullient; Herbert, modest, gentle and unassuming. Both, however, were committed to improving the soldier's quality of life and self-esteem as well as his intelligence. Prior to coming to the War Office in 1845, Herbert had served at the Admiralty, where he had completely reorganized the Royal Naval College at Greenwich.⁵⁰ He wasted no time in taking equally effective action over the Asylum.

In a detailed letter to the Commander-in-Chief, Herbert outlined his plans for educational reform in the Army. It clearly reflected Gleig's thinking and showed their identity of interests. Herbert stressed that in Army schools it was not proposed to carry this education to a very high point, but what was taught should be of a useful and practical nature and, above all, 'taught by men capable of engaging the attention of the pupil and directing it in a proper course'. The establishment of a training centre at the Asylum for Army schoolmasters was, therefore, central to his scheme. Of equal importance was the need for a 'superior authority ... to test progress, check departure from uniformity and invite energy and emulation among those taught and those who teach'.⁵¹ Herbert believed that Gleig was the person best qualified for the post and recommended that

he be offered the position of Inspector at an annual salary of £450, the same as that of an inspector under the Privy Council. The Commander-in-Chief concurred in all of the Secretary-at-War's proposals,⁵² as did the Treasury,⁵³ although neither perhaps with any degree of enthusiasm. ⁵⁴

On 2 July 1846 Gleig received his letter of appointment which defined his duties. He was to inspect the training and model schools at the Asylum, the Hibernian School and all regimental schools and make any necessary recommendations to the Secretary-at-War on the general system of education to be adopted and also on school buildings, equipment and books. He would recommend candidates for training as schoolmasters and in due course examine and certify them. In all, Gleig was to be the adviser to the Secretary-at-War on all educational matters concerning the education of the soldier and his children.⁵⁵ It was stressed, however, that his duties were to be strictly confined to inspection and making recommendations, since only the Secretary-at-War had the authority to issue orders.⁵⁶ As will be seen in Chapter 8, this was to contribute eventually to Gleig's resignation in 1857.⁵⁷ On the same day, the first of two Royal Warrants bearing the signature of Queen Victoria was issued. It provided the authority for the formation of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters

... with the view of improving the system of instruction in the Regimental Schools, we have deemed it expedient to introduce into our Army a class of men better calculated to perform the duties of Schoolmaster in the several Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry. Our Will and Pleasure is that such persons as, after having obtained a Certificate of fitness from the Training School, established by our authority, shall be appointed Schoolmaster Sergeants, shall be allowed the Pay of two shillings and sixpence a day with an increase of sixpence a day to be granted by Our Secretary at War at his discretion for efficiency and Good Conduct.⁵⁸

It went on to formalize Gleig's appointment by stating that

In order to secure an efficient superintendence over the Regimental Schools it is our Will and

Pleasure that an Inspector of Regimental Schools shall be appointed by Our Secretary at War.

The second Royal Warrant, dated 21 November 1846, established the Normal School at Chelsea to train these schoolmasters and a Model School for regiments to copy. It read

With the view of securing efficient School Masters in our several Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry - Our Will and Pleasure is that there shall be established at our Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, a Normal School for the instruction of persons to be appointed Schoolmaster Sergeants in our Army, and also a Model School, which shall consist of the Boys maintained in Our said Asylum, and upon which all the Schools in Our Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry shall be formed.⁵⁹

Prior to the publication of the first Royal Warrant, details of the posts for the new establishments were advertised. The headmaster of the Normal School would receive an annual salary of £350 together with a house, coal and candles, and his assistant master, £200 in addition to a house. The upper master of the Model School would also receive £200 a year and similar domestic bonuses, whilst his two assistant masters would receive £120 and £100 respectively, and the infant master, £120.⁶⁰

The year 1846 also saw changes at the Royal Hibernian Military School in Dublin. Gleig, it will be recalled, had inspected the Army's schools in Dublin two years earlier, including almost certainly the Hibernian School.⁶¹ No details of any visit he made to the school appear to have survived,⁶² but in 1845 a further investigation disclosed that all was not well. The military staff were not qualified to instruct the boys; the books were unsuitable; classes were too large, and arithmetic, English grammar and geography were omitted from the curriculum.⁶³ As a result of this report, the school was reformed in 1846 along similar lines to that of its sister establishment at Chelsea.⁶⁴ Qualified teaching staff were appointed under a new headmaster, Mr Henry Gibbons, a civilian, who was to retain the post for 46 years. In addition, monitors were appointed from amongst the more able pupils, who later competed for entrance to the Normal

School at Chelsea where they completed their training before becoming Army schoolmasters.⁶⁵

It would be erroneous to view all of these Army reforms as taking place in a vacuum, or indeed unopposed. It is interesting to note the date, the early to mid-1840s, for this was the time when there was considerable activity in the civilian sphere of education, particularly in the areas of inspection and teacher training. Both Gleig and Herbert were very conscious of these developments and were concerned lest the Army system of education be left behind. The Committee of the Privy Council on Education had been established largely because central government wielded little real control over sums expended, and consequently one of its functions was to supervise the application of any money voted by Parliament for elementary education. Whilst the original sum stood at £20,000 in 1833, it had risen to £30,000 by 1839.

In many respects Army education was in a similar position. Parliament had voted £20,000 in 1812 for the expansion of the regimental school system, but some 30 years later there was no guarantee that it and subsequent funds were being spent wisely. The appointment of an Inspector of Army Schools would help to overcome this weakness and bring Army schools into line with their civilian counterparts. Equally, the establishment of a Normal School at Chelsea, which would help to ensure the adequate training of Army schoolmasters, mirrored developments in the civilian field. In 1847, the year the Normal School at Chelsea admitted its first students, there were over 20 training colleges in England and Wales, the overwhelming majority being associated with the Church of England. These developments in civilian education undoubtedly had a positive influence upon those responsible for the direction of Army elementary education and spurred them to take comparable action.

At the same time, however, there were those in the Army who bitterly opposed educational reform, regarding it as not only unnecessary but positively detrimental to the Army. When, for example, it was proposed to establish a normal school for the training of Army schoolmasters the Horse Guards became

'seriously alarmed'. For many, book-learning had nothing to do with the soldier; people who could read and write were simply nuisances in the ranks.⁶⁶ Certainly there seems little doubt that an entrenched Horse Guards, with the Duke of Wellington at its helm, was reluctant to tamper with an Army which had triumphed at Waterloo and this impeded the cause of reform during subsequent decades.

Reform and reaction

Although Wellington was to see no more fighting after Waterloo, his influence upon the Army and British politics was immense.⁶⁷ After a brief period as Commander-in-Chief in 1827, he became Prime Minister in 1828, and in 1842 he resumed his former military post which he retained until his death in 1852. To the end of his life he was doggedly conservative and was generally opposed to any significant degree of reform or modernization.⁶⁸ He resisted, for example, the abolition of the contentious purchase system of commissions and was certain that nothing but flogging could preserve proper discipline among soldiers. Giving evidence before the Royal Commission on Military Punishments in 1836, his attitude to his men was revealed by the remark that 'there was no punishment which makes an impression upon anybody except corporal punishment'.⁶⁹ Others, including Gleig, believed that ill-discipline and drunkenness were the result of a lack of recreational pursuits and that the regimental school had a part to play in alleviating boredom and bad behaviour.

Gleig had in earlier days been a close friend of the Duke and had dedicated his book, The Subaltern, to him. Gleig in fact owed much to Wellington and without his patronage would not have become Chaplain-General or Inspector-General of Army Schools. Perhaps, however, it was inevitable that they would disagree over the question of educational reform. The Duke seemed opposed to any expansion of the regimental schools which were considered by him to the last as 'mischievous innovations and the not improbable foci of mutiny'. He was equally sceptical over Gleig's proposals to train Army schoolmasters and is reputed to have said

By Jove! if ever there is a mutiny in the Army
- and in all probability we shall have one -
you'll see that these new-fangled schoolmasters
will be at the bottom of it.⁷⁰

Wellington never forgave Gleig for his proposals to reform education and, according to Gleig, official proof of this came when the latter was undertaking his official tour of garrisons in the United Kingdom. Upon his arrival in Manchester, Gleig was informed by General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, who commanded the district, that he had received an order from Horse Guards not to assemble the troops for Gleig's inspection nor to assist in any way.⁷¹ In private life Gleig was equally ignored by the Duke. In Gleig's own words, 'but for the last four years of his life I never broke bread in any of his houses, nor received from him any such letters as gave a tone to our former correspondence'.⁷² Nevertheless, despite their undoubted differences, Gleig does make a most interesting comment upon the Duke and his attitude to military education in his biography of Wellington when he states that

The Duke was no great promoter of high education among the working classes, and could not, therefore, be expected to originate schemes for its advancement in the army; but to say that he fought against the establishment of the new school system in regiments, is to say too much. He was jealous, whether rightly or wrongly, of the interference of the War Office in that matter, and believed that the arrangements for providing corps with more efficient schoolmasters would have been better left in the hands of the commander-in-chief. But when the subject was fairly taken up, he never set himself against it; declaring on the contrary that, as far as his influence could avail, it should have fair play.⁷³

Whilst endorsing the belief that the Duke was not a whole-hearted supporter of educational reform, Gleig suggests that Wellington equally was not an intransigent opponent of it.⁷⁴ It would appear that his views on education within the Army were determined as much by his relations, as Commander-in-Chief, with the War Office as by any intrinsic opposition to educational innovation.

Throughout the nineteenth century there was a division of responsibility over the control of the Army between the War

Office, then in Pall Mall, and the Commander-in-Chief at Horse Guards in Whitehall. It was for the War Office to state government policy and provide where necessary legal sanction and financial resources, whilst the Commander-in-Chief, representing the prerogative of the Crown, implemented policy by issuing orders.⁷⁵ Some overlap and rivalry was perhaps inevitable between the two offices, but friction was increased by the fundamentally opposing attitudes that they came to hold on so many issues. The War Office, moved by public opinion and the growing efficiency of continental armies, periodically opened enquiries into subjects in which traditional practice had so far been unquestioned. In responding, Horse Guards, dominated by the Duke, fell back on defensive answers. This rivalry did not diminish with the Duke's death and, as will be discussed in Chapter 8, in the following decade was to have further implications for soldiers' education. In the meantime, Gleig set out to implement the reforms that he had done so much to bring about.

As in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the tremendous advances made in Army education in the 1840s have to be seen against the backdrop of developments in the field of civilian education. Here, in the early 1840s, there had been a rapid expansion in the establishment of training colleges; in government funding for elementary education in general, and in inspection, all under the auspices of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. The military authorities were certainly cognizant of, and influenced by, these developments; indeed, as Gleig implied, they had acted as a spur to the Army to put its own house in order. This it certainly did and, in some respects, was in advance of civilian educational thinking for Gleig had demonstrated to the would-be reformer of civilian schools that a non-denominational system of education could be devised. Such a system included religious instruction, but left to the clergy of the various churches 'such crumbs of polemic doctrine as appears to be necessary'.⁷⁶ In devising such a system, one could suggest that Gleig was realizing Kay-Shuttleworth's ambitions to establish a state-funded normal school free of inter-denominational rivalry.

Whilst much of the impetus in the development of civilian elementary education came from Kay-Shuttleworth so, in the Army, it came from Gleig. He had a clear vision of what was required and he was quite prepared to upset people, including those in positions of high office, to achieve it. Although in a matter of a decade Gleig's outspokenness was to bring him into conflict with Herbert's successors, and especially Lord Panmure, Gleig made the very most of the intervening years to build upon the reforms that had come about. He certainly lost no time in structuring the course for prospective Army schoolmasters at the Normal School at Chelsea, which was to endure for 30 years beyond Gleig's own retirement as Inspector-General of Army Schools in 1857.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 3

1. PRO WO 143/10, ff. 454-465. Minutes of HM Commissioners, RMA, Chelsea, 1833-46. Letter from Commissioners to Secretary-at-War, 15 March 1842, incorporating Hardinge's recommendations.
2. Ibid., f.455. It is difficult to ascertain who Hardinge had in mind for, as Gleig observed, the teachers at the Asylum were discharged NCOs. See Chapter 2, pp.60-61.
3. During the eighteenth century, absenteeism and even drunkenness amongst Army chaplains had become widespread and many had refused to serve abroad. In 1796, the Army Chaplains' Department had been established to improve the quantity and quality of Army chaplains; nevertheless, the number of chaplains with troops in 1812 was infinitesimal. Smyth J, In This Sign Conquer. The Story of the Army Chaplains (1968), pp.27 & 31. See also Kopperman P E, 'Religion and Religious Policy in the British Army, c.1700-96', in Journal of Religious Studies, vol.14, 1986-7, pp.390-405.
4. The National Society had established its own system of inspection soon after its foundation in 1811. See Edmunds E L, The School Inspector (1962), Chapter 2.
5. PRO WO 143/10, f.463. Minutes of HM Commissioners, RMA, Chelsea, 1833-46.
6. Jarvis A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office: The Rev Prebendary George Robert Gleig MA', in Journal of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department, vol.IV, no.32, July 1931, pp.14-77, at pp.28-32; 'The Death of Mr Gleig', in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. CXLIV, no.874, August 1888, pp.311-314. See also Jones D R, The Rev G R Gleig and Early Victorian Army Education (M.A. thesis, Belfast, 1983).
7. Gleig G R, The Life of the Duke of Wellington (1942), pp.418-419.

8. 'Gallery of Literary Characters, no.L11. The Rev George Robert Gleig', in Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, vol. X, no.LVII, September 1834, p.282.
9. Jarvis, op.cit., pp.28-29 & Smyth, op.cit., pp.48-49. The office of Chaplain-General was reduced officially on grounds of 'financial stringency'. It was also as a result of disagreement between the then Chaplain-General, Robert Hodgson, and the Secretary-at-War, Sir Henry Hardinge. Like one his more famous successors, Gleig, Hodgson was a man of assertive personality and considerable drive and energy. A clash soon arose over the selection of chaplains and so Hardinge decided to remove Dr Hodgson.
10. Chapter 5 describes the kind of person who enlisted in the nineteenth century Army and his reasons for doing so.
11. 'Moral Discipline of the Army', in Quarterly Review, vol.76, no.152, September 1845, pp.387-424; 'Education and Lodging of the Soldier', in Quarterly Review, vol. 77, no. 154, March 1846, pp.526-563 & 'Military Education', in Quarterly Review, vol. 83, no.166, September 1848, pp.419-450.
12. 'Education and Lodging of the Soldier', in Quarterly Review, vol.77, no.154, March 1846, p.539.
13. Ibid., loc.cit.
14. Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army, 1836 (hereafter referred to as The Military Punishments Commission), P.P., XXII, 1836, p.xix.
15. 'Education and Lodging of the Soldier', in Quarterly Review, vol.77, no.154, March 1846, p.541.
16. 'Military Education', in Quarterly Review, vol.83, no.166, September 1848, pp.419-420.
17. See pp.76-77 of this chapter for an account of Mcleod's work and its importance.

18. Stow D, The Training System, Moral Training School and Normal Seminary or College (1853), Chapter 2.
19. Curtis S J, History of Education in Great Britain (1957), p.215.
20. 'Education and Lodging of the Soldier', in Quarterly Review, vol. 77, no.154, March 1846, pp.542-543.
21. Jarvis, op.cit., pp.38-39.
22. Ibid., p.42.
23. SRO GD 45/8/16. Report on Military Education on the Continent, 7 December 1846, from the Inventory of Dalhousie Muniments, vol.1. See also Smyth, op.cit., p.64.
24. PRO WO 43/796, ff.147-161. Report on Regimental Schools and on the Training of Army Schoolmasters. Gleig to the Secretary-at-War, 25 September 1844.
25. Report of the Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, 1887 (under the chairmanship of Lord Harris, Under-Secretary of State for War), Minutes of Evidence, p.30, T Carson, Sub-Inspector of Army Schools.
26. PRO WO 43/819, f.342. Proposals to provide chapel-schools in barracks. Gleig to Treasury, 8 December 1845. See also Seaborne M, The English School, Its Architecture and Organization, 1370-1870 (1971), Chapter 10.
27. PRO WO 43/796, ff.147-161. Report on Regimental Schools and on the Training of Army Schoolmasters. Gleig to Secretary-at-War, 25 September 1844.
28. 'First Report on the Training School at Battersea to the Poor Law Commissioners', by James P Kay & Edward Carlton Tufnell, 1 January 1841, in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-3, pp.189-250, at pp.193-198.
29. The influence of Kay-Shuttleworth and, indirectly, the Swiss educators upon the curriculum at the Normal School, RMA, Chelsea, is considered in Chapter 4.

30. PRO WO 43/796, ff.147-161. Report on Regimental Schools and on the Training of Army Schoolmasters. Gleig to Secretary-at-War, 25 September 1844.
31. The Revd John Allen, HMI, suggests that Mcleod was the first person to assume this title. See, 'Report on the Battersea Training School and the Battersea Village School for Boys', by The Revd J Allen, HMI of Schools, 18 August 1843, in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-3, pp.60-188, at p.69.
32. 'First Report on the Training School at Battersea to the Poor Law Commissioners', by James P Kay and Edward Carlton Tufnell, 1 January 1841, in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-3, pp.189-250, at p.230.
33. Adkins T, The History of St John's College, Battersea (1906), p.110 & The War Office List and Directory of Administrative Departments of the British Army, 1865.
34. PRO WO 43/796, ff.147-161. Report on Regimental Schools and on the Training of Army Schoolmasters. Gleig to Secretary-at-War, 25 September 1844.
35. Bloomfield B C (ed), The Autobiography of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth (1964), p.57.
36. Rudd L, The Duke of York's Royal Military School, 1801-1934: Its History, Aims and Associations (1935), p.102.
37. Rich R W, The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century (1933), pp.87-96.
38. PRO WO 43/796, ff.147-161. Report on Regimental Schools and on the Training of Army Schoolmasters. Gleig to Secretary-at-War, 25 September 1844.
39. 'National Education', in Edinburgh Review, vol.XCV, no.194, April 1852, pp.321-357, at pp.331-332. In 1827, Presbyterians were officially recognized in the Army and they became a separate branch of the Army Chaplains' Department.

In 1836, following the Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1829, Roman Catholic chaplains were recognized on an equal footing with Church of England and Presbyterian chaplains. Thus, when Gleig became Principal Chaplain in 1844, there were often three kinds of clergymen: Church of England; Presbyterian attending Scottish soldiers, and Roman Catholic attending Irish soldiers.

40. Ibid., p.331.

41. See Chapter 4, pp.109-110, for a description of religious instruction provided in the regimental schools.

42. PRO WO 43/796, ff.147-161. Report on Regimental Schools and on the Training of Army Schoolmasters. Gleig to Secretary-at-War, 25 September 1844.

43. Ibid., loc.cit.

44. 'National Education', in Edinburgh Review, vol. XCV, no.194, April 1852, p.325.

45. Ibid., loc.cit.

46. Ibid., p.327.

47. Jarvis, op.cit., p.48. Henry Moseley (1801-72) was appointed Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Astronomy at King's College, London University in 1831 and held the post until January 1844, when he was appointed one of the HMIs of Normal Schools. Having attended for a short time a naval school at Portsmouth during his youth, he maintained an interest in naval education during his time at King's College and soon became one of the Government's experts on naval education. Perhaps it was not surprising, therefore, that he should extend his interest in military education to Army education. He was Inspector for the Greenwich Hospital Schools from 1842 to 1857, when he became a member of the newly-constituted Council of Military Education. See Chapter 8, p.228 for his work with the Council.

48. PRO WO 43/796, ff.1-20. Letter from Moseley, Privy Council Office, to the Committee of Council on Education, 7 April 1846.
49. Ibid., loc.cit.
50. Lord Stanmore, Sidney Herbert, Lord of Lea, A Memoir (1906), p.375.
51. PRO WO 43/796, ff. 22-31. Secretary-at-War to Commander-in-Chief, 25 June 1846.
52. Ibid., ff. 48-53. Commander-in-Chief to Secretary-at-War, 27 June 1846.
53. Ibid., ff. 72-73. Treasury to Secretary-at-War, 2 July 1846.
54. See pp.86-88 of this chapter for an account of Wellington's attitude towards reform.
55. PRO WO 43/796, ff. 74-78. Secretary-at-War to the Chaplain-General, 2 July 1846.
56. Jarvis, op.cit., p.50.
57. See Chapter 8, pp.222-223.
58. PRO WO 43/796, f.86 & MOD Library. Royal Warrant, 2 July 1846. Formation of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters.
59. PRO WO 43/796, ff.90-91 & MOD Library. Royal Warrant, 21 November 1846. Establishment of the Normal and Model Schools at the RMA, Chelsea.
60. The Athenaeum, 27 June 1846, no.974, p.641. In 1849 the staff at the Normal School comprised the headmaster and chaplain; an assistant master; a singing master and a drawing master. In the Model School the upper master and master of method was assisted by a second and third master, with another master running the infant school. 'Report on the Normal School for Training Regimental Schoolmasters, and on the Model School at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea', by The Revd H Moseley,

HMI of Schools, 24 August 1849, in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1848-50, vol.2, pp.853-865, at pp.853-864.

61. See pp.73-74 of this chapter.
62. The surviving records of the RHMS, Dublin are far less extensive than those of the RMA, Chelsea. This is because most of the former's original documents at Arnside Street Record Office, Walworth, were destroyed during the Second World War.
63. Hawkins F H & Roberts D W, 'The Royal Hibernian Military School, 1769-1924'. Undated. RAEC Archives.
64. PRO WO 43/724. RHMS, Dublin. Various matters including Royal Warrant, 19 December 1846. See also 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P.,XXIV,1870, p.xxxvii. For the purposes of military training and discipline, the pupils were divided into six companies each under a sergeant. For the purposes of education, they were arranged in four divisions, each having its own master, with the headmaster exercising general supervision over the education of the whole school.
65. See Chapter 4, pp.105-106, for details of pupils from the school being selected for training at the Normal School, Chelsea.
66. Jarvis, op.cit., pp.53-54.
67. Brereton J M, The British Soldier, A Social History from 1661 to the Present Day (1986), p.44.
68. Spiers E M, The Army and Society, 1815-1914 (1980), pp.90-92.
69. The Military Punishments Commission, 1836, Minutes of Evidence, para. 5,807.
70. Jarvis, op.cit., p.44.

71. General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot (1776-1849) had been appointed Commander of the Northern and Midland Districts in 1842. He was highly regarded by Wellington, who selected him for the newly-constituted command at Manchester at a time when the Chartists were causing much anxiety in this region. Dictionary of National Biography & the Army List, 1842.
72. Jarvis, op.cit., p.44.
73. Gleig G R, The Life of the Duke of Wellington (1942), pp.342-343.
74. Gleig's view was reinforced when, in 1849, Wellington directed that all recruits were to attend school. See Chapter 6, p.163.
75. See Chapter 8, pp.226-227, for a further analysis of this rivalry and its implications.
76. 'National Education', in Edinburgh Review, vol. XCV, no.194, April 1852, p.332.

CHAPTER 4: THE ARMY SCHOOLMASTER'S TRAINING, 1847-1914

The Normal School at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, opened in 1847 and for the next 40 years trained all prospective Army schoolmasters. For almost the entire period both civilian and military personnel were eligible to apply for admission but it became increasingly difficult to attract suitable candidates of either category. In part this can be attributed to the demanding entrance qualifications and to the rigorous course of training. Another contributory factor, which not only deterred men from applying but which subsequently encouraged Army schoolmasters to seek alternative employment, was their conditions of service, which will be considered in Chapter 9. By 1870, with numbers falling, the future of the Normal School was in question and was to become the subject of a number of Army inquiries. The school eventually closed in 1887. The aim of this chapter is to consider the entrance requirements and subsequent training of the Army schoolmaster at the Normal School during this period, and the arrangements made following the latter's closure when greater reliance was placed upon the pupil-teachers or 'students' at the two military boarding schools.

Recruitment into the Corps of Army Schoolmasters

The first course at the Normal School comprised 24 students who were all civilians, although within a few years there were to be three sources of entry. In addition to civilian candidates, NCOs from the Army became eligible, as well as youths from the Asylum and the Royal Hibernian Military School, who were given a two year preliminary course prior to their formal training. So began the system of double entry from civilian and military life which continued as an essential feature in the recruitment of Army schoolmasters.

Students who attended the first course in March 1847 had responded to an advertisement in The Observer which had outlined the conditions under which 30 unmarried civilian men between 19 and 25 years of age could be accepted for training. Those applying were to be

of irreproachable moral character, good constitutions, and not under the standard military height. The literary qualifications of candidates are - that they shall read fluently, write good hands, be conversant with the principles and practice of arithmetic, be well grounded in sacred and profane history, and have received in other respects a plain but liberal education.¹

The Normal School register shows that the successful applicants had pursued a variety of occupations.² Some had been teachers, others clerks or tradesmen; one was a partially-qualified surgeon, another a surveyor, whilst one had formerly been a 'maker of philosophical instruments' (i.e., scientific instruments). According to Gleig they were generally well-connected or, as the press put it, 'the parents of some of the applicants had moved in the superior ranks of life'.³ This view was endorsed by Moseley when he reported on both the Normal and Model Schools of the Asylum in 1849. His observations would have been based on the standards of those first entrants to the Normal School in 1847, for the course was two years long. Moseley's comment on the applicants' previous attainments were that they appeared generally to have been superior to those of the students of other normal schools which he had visited; for the most part they had been educated at private schools and their manners and deportment suggested respectable parentage. They were, moreover, 'superior in general attendance and previous instruction to those of other similar institutions'.⁴

Since 1812 a tradition had been established of recruiting NCOs as Army schoolmasters and providing them with a short course of training at the Asylum. In the discussions which took place before the founding of the Normal School, Gleig had assumed that at least some military personnel would participate as before.⁵ For the first three years, however, only civilian applicants were admitted to the Normal School. A possible explanation was that the authorities believed that it would be difficult to attract suitably-qualified NCOs. Military applicants were admitted in 1850, perhaps because the authorities had come to realize that they would be more amenable to military discipline than civilian

applicants, some of whom had already proved to be unsuitable. Of the 24 civilian students who began the first course only 13 completed it satisfactorily.

One withdrew to take up a commission and another to join the East India Company. Others simply proved unsatisfactory. The high drop-out rate was also accounted for by the rigorous training programme. The fact that students received no pay during their two year course was, no doubt, a further contributory factor.⁶ Some students failed to live up to the high moral standards demanded. James Baxter, for example, a former clerk to a firm of warehousemen in the City, was dismissed within months for intoxication on more than one occasion.⁷ The requirement for civilians to sign a 'bond' of £50, under which they were obliged to take up their post as Army schoolmaster on completion of their training, led others to withdraw from the course. John Swann, who had been studying to become a surgeon and who was described as a very promising youth, left in September 1847 because his father refused to sign the bond guaranteeing his son's good faith.⁸ Some parents, whilst being willing to sign, subsequently found that they were unable to meet their part of the contract when it became necessary to do so. An interesting example of this was the case of A W Abernethy, a former teacher of the deaf and dumb, who was dismissed by the commandant in 1848.

The records show that Abernethy's father was dismayed to learn that his son should have 'been so foolish as to throw away the advantages of so noble an institution and a comfortable prospect for life', for what he described as a debasing habit. This was probably excessive drinking. Unfortunately, Abernethy's father, a former printer, could not pay the £50 bond and there followed a lengthy correspondence with the Asylum and the War Office as to the father's liability. The War Office, on learning that the latter was now unemployed, agreed initially to reduce the sum to £20, but eventually waived the whole amount once it was convinced that even this was beyond Abernethy's ability to pay.⁹ For those students who did complete the course it was a prelude to a long period of Army service.

The first of the 13 students at the Normal School to complete their training was Frederick Scrivener, a former London surveyor, who enlisted on 4 April 1849 and was posted as garrison schoolmaster to Preston. Scrivener served for at least ten years with postings in England, Ireland and India,¹⁰ whilst a fellow student, Henry Keley served with the Corps for over 20 years.¹¹ If a candidate was attracted to the Corps because of the variety it offered and the prospect of a challenging career, Keley was surely not disappointed. His service must have contrasted sharply with his previous employment as a clerk in a London merchant's office. He enlisted in 1850 and six years later found himself in Grahamstown, South Africa, only to find that the school there was a 'barrack room, dark and paved with stones' and devoid of all school materials. Not to be deterred he taught 50 men using a dozen borrowed slates and a map of the world; it was not until two years later that supplies arrived.¹² At this point Keley's regiment was sent to India where, though the Mutiny was at its height, he continued to teach the children and even offered his services to other units.¹³

Other students who attended the first course at the Normal School in 1847 had even longer and perhaps more distinguished careers, if less eventful. By the early 1880s, when the Corps of Army Schoolmasters possessed three inspectors,¹⁴ the pinnacle of the profession, all three had attended the Normal School in the first year of its existence. John Stewart, who had once been a clerk to a nurseryman, became inspector with the rank of captain in 1881, as did William Thacker, a former chorister in Lichfield Cathedral before becoming a student at the training college there. In the following year, E M Rogers, previously an assistant in a school in Bath, was also promoted inspector.¹⁵ Between them they had accumulated over 100 years' experience in Army schools.

Although civilian applicants were encouraged, throughout the period there were many associated with Army education who preferred to recruit NCOs into the Corps of Army Schoolmasters. Giving evidence before the Royal Commission into Military Education ¹⁶ in 1870, the Commander-in-Chief made it quite clear

that he preferred a schoolmaster who had first been a soldier because a soldier would submit to discipline and that could only be instilled at an early age.¹⁷ Another witness, Mr W J Reynolds MA, the headmaster of the Normal School, also thought highly of the military man and spoke of the 'beneficial influence' exercised by the soldier-students in introducing among the civilians there a 'feeling of military obedience'.¹⁸ The gradual widening of the pool from which military personnel could be selected no doubt reflected such sentiments, although it would be fair to suggest that they also reflected the difficulties encountered in recruiting from civilian life.

Whilst initially only NCOs, preferably sergeants, were eligible, this qualification was successively lowered, first to junior NCOs, then to privates in possession of a good conduct badge and, by 1870, to any soldier recommended by his commanding officer.¹⁹ A report on regimental and garrisons schools, the first comprehensive review of elementary education in the Army, under the chairmanship of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lefroy, published in 1859, noted that those applying for admission to the Normal School, whether civilian or military, generally possessed very little previous education. It noted, however, that 'it would be undesirable to raise the standard of qualification for admission to any point which would exclude the non-commissioned officers of the Army who now form about one third of the number of candidates'.²⁰

Prior to the entrance examination in August 1860 it was announced that three of the ten vacancies at the Normal School would be reserved for the most successful Army candidates and that the remaining seven would be open to civilians. This strategy was designed to encourage military applicants who were often reluctant to apply because they believed that they would perform less well in the entrance examinations than their civilian competitors.²¹ The plan, however, backfired for, with only three places allocated to Army candidates, most felt that they had little chance of success and consequently few applied. The results of the examination are illuminating because they show

that Army candidates did reasonably well. Although seven places had been set aside for civilian applicants, only three qualified and of those who failed one scored the lowest mark of all the candidates, obtaining only 46 out of a possible 350 marks. The Army had no difficulty in finding its quota of three, Sergeant C A Robertson of the 11th Foot scoring the top mark of 244. A further eight NCOs qualified but there were no military vacancies left. One wonders why the four civilian places which were not taken up were not allocated to these NCOs. Ironically, these changes, which were intended to improve an NCO's chances of admittance, had had exactly the opposite effect and so in August 1861 the former practice of open competition was re-adopted.²² Subsequent examinations showed that soldiers were 'able to compete with fair prospect of success'.²³

Despite the encouragement given to NCOs to apply for admission to the Normal School the numbers coming forward continued to be disappointing. Indeed, it became increasingly difficult to attract either military or civilian personnel: in 1869 there were only 13 military and just three civilian students undergoing training.²⁴ It was not perhaps surprising that the Army at this time was finding it difficult to attract sufficient and suitably qualified teachers, for this was the decade of Robert Lowe's 'Revised Code' which, as will be discussed in Chapter 9, did so much to demoralize and adversely affect the status of the elementary teacher. Of those who did enter the field of civilian education, many would simply have been reluctant to join the Army. Others were deterred by the prospect of having to train twice, for by the mid-1860s not only had they to be certificated teachers or pupil-teachers who had completed their apprenticeship, but they were also required to undergo the two year course of training at the Normal and Model Schools at Chelsea.²⁵ A further contributory factor could have been the Army's preference for the more mature candidate. The average age of the students on the first course was 20, thus making entrants to the Normal School slightly older than those who had entered civilian colleges.²⁶ In its endeavour to attract a more mature candidate, the Army raised the minimum age for admission to the

Normal School from 19 to 21 in 1863.²⁷ This, however, was soon reduced to 20 because the Army found that it was losing young men from civilian life who, 'having just completed their apprenticeship in national schools, would be looking about for employment'.²⁸

Faced with increasing difficulty in attracting either civilian applicants or soldiers, the authorities came to place greater reliance on youths, aged 16 to 18, from the Asylum at Chelsea and the Royal Hibernian Military School in Dublin.²⁹ Having passed a competitive examination, they were appointed monitors for two years before undertaking a further two year period of training as assistant schoolmasters in the regimental schools.³⁰ Under the supervision of an Army schoolmaster, they developed their professional skills as well as furthering their own education. If reported on favourably, they could then compete for a place at the Normal School. An early example of this class of student was James Thomson, the poet, who was admitted to the Asylum as a monitor in 1850 at the age of 16 and, making excellent progress, decided upon a career as an Army schoolmaster. His first appointment was as an assistant master at Ballincollig, near Cork, where he gained practical experience in teaching under the supervision of the garrison schoolmaster, Joseph Barnes. He proved to be a 'brilliant and accomplished assistant' during his stay and in 1853 he returned to the Asylum, to the Normal School, to pursue his studies. A year later, at just 19 years of age, having passed his final examinations he enlisted as an Army schoolmaster and served with the Rifle Brigade at Aldershot before being transferred to Ireland with the 55th Foot (The Border Regiment).³¹

In many respects these youths were ideally suited for training as Army schoolmasters for they were familiar with the military environment and accustomed to its disciplined way of life. The system also had other advantages. It improved the student's academic and professional skills and also provided a continuity of education which not only enabled him to gain maximum benefit from his subsequent training at the Normal School, but also

helped to ensure that he was not distracted into considering alternative employment. This problem of bridging the gap between leaving school and entering training college was one of the main difficulties encountered by the civilian authorities at this time and one which the pupil-teacher system, introduced in 1846, was intended to overcome. When, however, the Council of Military Education assumed responsibility for Army schools in 1860, it was not entirely satisfied with this system of recruitment and training.

It believed that the practice of sending young men out to garrisons as assistant schoolmasters at just 18 years of age led them to acquire unfavourable habits. On their return to the Normal School, they resented the restraint imposed upon them and imparted a 'spirit of discontent' amongst the younger students.³² Consequently, as part of the wide-ranging reforms of 1863 concerning the appointment and promotion of the Army schoolmaster,³³ the post of assistant schoolmaster was abolished. Instead of being attached to units under the supervision of an experienced schoolmaster, students now remained at the two military boarding schools for further education and training.³⁴ Although the evidence is inconclusive, it appears that the term 'pupil-teacher' was formally adopted at the Asylum at this time, for in 1870 the Royal Commission on Military Education stated that pupil-teachers at the Asylum at Chelsea, as well as monitors at the Royal Hibernian Military School were eligible to compete for places at the Normal School. At the Asylum, civilians and soldiers, as well as pupils, aged between 17 and 19 and who had passed the requisite examination, were appointed pupil-teachers,³⁵ whilst at the school in Dublin monitors were similarly appointed, although unlike the Asylum they were drawn exclusively from pupils at the school.³⁶

Whatever the background of the applicant - pupil-teacher, monitor, NCO or civilian - the entrance qualifications to the Normal School were stringent. He not only had to meet specific requirements as to his age, height, marital status ³⁷ and, in the case of military applicants, rank, but also provide character

references and finally demonstrate his intellectual qualities in the entrance examinations. The competitive entrance examination was held twice a year, usually in January and August. Applicants were examined at the Asylum although soldiers outside London were permitted to sit the examination locally. The register of candidates for the first course shows their standard on entry in a range of subjects and these would have formed the basis of the entrance examinations. They included reading, religious knowledge, English and ancient history, geography, arithmetic, geometry and algebra. Whilst the majority of applicants were acquainted with most subjects, the common remark in the case of geometry and algebra was 'no knowledge'.³⁸

With minor amendments these subjects remained unchanged throughout the period.³⁹ Candidates were required to possess a large amount of factual knowledge as the papers for 1861, at Appendix C, show.⁴⁰ Fortunately, from the candidate's point of view, he was not required to pass in each paper, only to obtain an overall pass mark of 50 percent. In 1872, Private Burden of the 2/19th Foot passed with an overall score of 342 out of a possible total of 600 even though he failed the scripture and geometry papers. He more than compensated for this by scoring 99 out of 100 on the arithmetic paper.⁴¹ Having successfully mounted this hurdle, he then faced a demanding course at the Asylum which encompassed intellectual, moral and physical training as well as professional study.

Training at the Normal School, Chelsea, 1847-87

In 1849, Gleig issued a set of regulations for the training of the Army schoolmaster at the Asylum, which was based upon the course of instruction undertaken by the first intake of Army schoolmasters and revised in the light of that experience. These regulations for 'the System of Study and Instruction to be followed in the Normal School of the Royal Military Asylum', at Appendix D,⁴² were the second set of official regulations relating to the training of the Army schoolmaster, Bell's being the first in 1812.

In determining the length and nature of the courses at the Normal and Model Schools at the Asylum, Gleig and his successors were undoubtedly influenced by several considerations. First they had to bear in mind that the Army schoolmaster would be teaching both adults and children and thus would require as broad an education as possible. Second, account would have to be taken of the academic and social background of the candidate as well as his previous teaching experience, if any. There was, therefore, a need to strike a balance between education and professional study. Few of the students attending the early courses had had very much previous teaching experience though this changed with the passage of time. Although the educational qualities of the students varied, it appears that the majority were not used to serious study, particularly the military applicants.

The Lefroy Report of 1859 explained that much of the first term at the Normal School was taken up in 'breaking these men into habits of study ... the most severe exertions are required to enable most of them to make in the two remaining terms tolerable progress in the subjects indispensably required, of which several are perfectly new to them'.⁴³ Consequently, it was necessary to devote a large proportion of the whole training programme at the Asylum to furthering the students' own education. Nor were such difficulties confined to the Army's Normal School. At Battersea, Kay-Shuttleworth found that during the early months of training the students were in a similar state of mental torpor. 'Their habits', Kay-Shuttleworth explained, 'have seldom prepared them for the severely regular life of the Normal School, much less for the strenuous effort of attention and application required by the daily routine of instruction'.⁴⁴

Kay-Shuttleworth was writing in 1843 at a time when civilian training colleges were rapidly expanding, and Gleig was undoubtedly influenced by these contemporary developments and in particular by Kay-Shuttleworth's work at Battersea. Incorporating many of the educational ideas he had gained from his Continental tour in 1839, especially in Switzerland, Kay-Shuttleworth had set himself the task of reconciling 'a

simplicity of life not remote from the habits of the humbler classes, with such proficiency in intellectual attainments, such a knowledge of method, and such skill in the art of teaching, as would enable the pupils selected to become efficient masters of elementary schools'.⁴⁵ To this end the students' entire day, from 5.30am to 9.20pm, was occupied with a succession of activities: household work, outdoor labour, physical exercise⁴⁶ and instruction, and later, practice in teaching in the village model school. The programme of training for prospective Army schoolmasters devised by Gleig at the Asylum in Chelsea closely resembled that provided at Battersea.

The course at the Asylum was of two years' duration ⁴⁷ and was divided into four terms, the first three being spent in the Normal School, under the chaplain and headmaster, The Revd W S O Du Santoy, the fourth in the Model School, under Mr Walter Mcleod.⁴⁸ The aim was to produce schoolmasters who would devote themselves to the task of improving the mental, moral and physical condition of the soldier and his children and this was reflected in the programme. The 18 months spent in training at the Normal School were vigorous ones. As the timetable at Appendix E shows, the students were rarely idle, with a constant round of academic and recreational activities supported by spiritual exercises.⁴⁹

The academic curriculum was also as wide as that at Battersea, the basic subjects being English language, religious knowledge, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, history and geography. To these Gleig added those subjects which he considered to be of particular relevance to the soldier. Field fortifications, mechanics and military drawing found a place in the curriculum, as did natural history which included botany, zoology and mineralogy, because Gleig believed that they would be attractive to the British soldier, serving as he did in all parts of the world. But important as the utility motive undoubtedly was, it was not allowed to exclude others and so drawing, which was considered to have a beneficial effect on taste, was taught and two lessons a week were allocated to music under the direction of Mr John Hullah, who was also the singing master at Battersea.⁵⁰ Nor did Gleig forget physical activities although, writing to the

War Office in 1848, he expressed concern that outdoor pursuits were being neglected because too much time was being devoted to the development of the intellectual faculties.⁵¹ Whilst recognizing the importance of the latter, he wanted to provide for the all-round education of the prospective schoolmaster. Hence, when submitting his revised programme in 1849, he proposed a reduction of time allocated to mathematics, explaining that the Secretary-at-War did not 'desire to create an Army of Wranglers but to awaken among our soldiers a taste for reading, such as shall lead to the formation of habits of order and operate beneficially on their moral as well as their intellectual nature'.⁵²

Understandably, moral and religious training were of great importance to Gleig but, as already noted, he was determined to avoid the religious controversy that beset civilian elementary education. He advocated a more tolerant attitude towards religious education which was reflected in non-sectarian instruction both at the Normal School and in the regimental schools. Not all of the students at Chelsea were members of the Church of England: some were Roman Catholics and others Non conformists. Gleig refused to maintain any proportion of one particular denomination,⁵³ preferring instead to admit the best candidates for training. At the same time he was highly critical of the National Society's excessive attention to religion in schools. It was not necessary, he argued, to dose children ad nauseam with catechisms and liturgical formularies every day of the week in order to ensure that they did not pass to the conventicle.⁵⁴

Writing in the Edinburgh Review in 1852, Gleig explained the responsibilities of the Army schoolmaster towards the religious education of children. Each morning, school began with a short prayer followed by a reading from the Scriptures, the schoolmaster drawing from them any moral lessons they seemed to convey. 'He touches, in so doing', Gleig explained, 'upon no topic of sectarian controversy'. He did not think that it was either necessary or desirable to devote more time to studying the

Bible because religious and moral education could be furthered through all the subjects of the curriculum. The schoolmaster was to miss no opportunity 'whether he be giving a lesson in history, in geography, or in natural science, of directing the attention of his scholars to the power, the wisdom, the justice, and the goodness of God', but beyond this he was 'strictly forbidden to go'.⁵⁵ It was left to the clergy to impart specific religious instruction at times set aside for that purpose. His thoughts on the inter-relationship between religious and general education were reminiscent of the words of the Bishop of London in 1834 when he had commented upon the efficacy of secular instruction

Religion ought to be made the groundwork of all education ... But I believe that the lessons of religion will not be rendered less impressive or effectual by being interspersed with teaching of a different kind. The Bible will not be read with less interest, if history, for example, and geography, and the elements of useful practical science, be suffered to take their turn in the circle of daily instruction.⁵⁶

Gleig's attitude to religious instruction in the Normal and regimental schools was far ahead of his time.⁵⁷ Perhaps his belief that religious education was but one element, although a vital one, in the training of the schoolmaster and his pupils accounted for the relatively small amount of time devoted to it at the Normal School in comparison with Battersea and other colleges of the National Society. It may also explain Moseley's disappointment at the relatively poor standard of achievement in this subject in comparison with other colleges. As far as other parts of the curriculum were concerned he was more complimentary, drawing attention to the high standards attained in history and the generally good standards in penmanship, grammar, spelling and fluency in reading.⁵⁸

Standards were maintained by a strict process of examination throughout the course. No student was permitted to proceed to the next phase of his course until he had proved satisfactory at the lower level. To help ensure this the first half of each lesson was devoted to an oral test of the previous day's work and each was supplemented by prescribed reading, private study and an examination of notebooks. Oral work not only played a large part

in testing but also formed the basis of instruction, each lecture lasting for one hour with the masters preparing them so as 'to interest and excite the curiosity of the pupils'.⁵⁹ Reliance on oral work, which again mirrored the practice adopted at Battersea,⁶⁰ was intended to ensure that the students fully understood what they were taught,⁶¹ and also overcame the problems created by a dearth of suitable textbooks. At Battersea College, where there were few appropriate books at all, the masters produced their own textbooks under the auspices of the Committee of Council on Education.⁶² Some of these books, such as Tate's works on mathematics and Hunter's on grammar, were also adopted at the military school in addition to Mcleod's texts.⁶³ Gleig himself had edited his own series of school books, Gleig's School Primers, which totalled over 45 volumes, as well as being the author of some 30 separate publications.⁶⁴ Some of his history books were used not only at the Normal School but also at Eton and some of the training colleges, including Battersea, and whilst the style has been described as laborious and the morality, Victorian, they do give 'a connected account in which it is possible to take some interest'.⁶⁵ Nearly a century after Gleig, the then Chaplain-General, The Revd A C E Jarvis, was equally favourably impressed with Gleig's works, the most remarkable thing being that they were all readable.⁶⁶

In subsequent decades changes were made to the curriculum at the Normal School, though it continued to reflect the fact that the schoolmaster would be instructing a military audience. This explains why some subjects, such as ancient history, were dropped from the curriculum and increasing importance attached to British and colonial history.⁶⁷ Similarly, on the recommendation of the Lefroy Report of 1859, trigonometry was resumed because of its value in surveying.⁶⁸ Whilst adaptable to changing requirements, the course at the Normal School does not appear to have been affected by developments in civilian training colleges in the 1860s. Here, following the Revised Code of 1862, the syllabus for the certificate examination was substantially cut down through the omission of its 'more ambitious parts', and greater emphasis placed on a narrower range of elementary subjects.⁶⁹ In

contrast, the course at the Normal School continued to be based upon a broad, general education. This is reflected in the following table, which shows the weekly distribution of time allotted to each subject in 1865, and which remained essentially unchanged until the closure of the school in 1887:⁷⁰

Subject	Classes	
	1st	2nd
	Hours	Hours
Religious Instruction	2	2
Writing papers on Scripture Subjects on Sunday evenings	1½	1½
Mathematical instruction:		
Arithmetic	1	2
Algebra	2	2
Euclid	1	2
Mechanics	1	0
Trigonometry	1	0
English history	2	2
English grammar	2	2
Reading	2	2
Geography	2	2
Fortification	2	2
Model drawing	3	3
Vocal music	4	4
Chemistry	2	2
Physics	1	1
Obligatory private study	7½	7½
Examination	2	2
Drill and Gymnastics	6	6
Total:	45	45

At the end of their course at the Normal School, the students sat an examination in all subjects studied, the examination papers being set by examiners 'external of the Royal Military Asylum'. For example, for a number of years W Stebbing, a Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, was responsible for the history and geography papers. For the most part he seemed more than satisfied with the standards achieved and believed that geography must have been the most popular subject judging by the amount of knowledge displayed.⁷¹ Those students who successfully completed their course at the Normal School then went on to the Model School to gain teaching experience which, in 1863, was increased

from six months to one year.⁷² Candidates were assessed by outside examiners as at the Normal School. A report on the Asylum in 1868 by Moseley shows that this was undertaken by the Council of Military Education, which had assumed responsibility for the regimental schools and their schoolmasters in 1860.⁷³ Moseley explained that members of the Council visited the school twice a year to observe the students' lessons and, after consultation with Mcleod, the headmaster of the Model School, determined the class of certificate to be awarded.⁷⁴ There were three classes. The first class special certificate was the highest and was granted in recognition of 'great distinction both in the Normal School as a scholar, and in the Model School as a teacher'. The second class special certificate was given where the standards achieved were of 'a high order' and the third, or ordinary certificate, denoted 'satisfactory qualification'.⁷⁵

For 40 years Army schoolmasters, destined to serve at home and overseas, were prepared in this way for their future responsibilities. But even during the 1860s, with the number of applicants falling, the future of this system of training began to be questioned and the military authorities began to look to alternative and more cost-effective methods of training.

Closure of the Normal School

The first of a number of official inquiries which looked at the viability of the Normal School was the Royal Commission into Military Education, 1868-1870. It was appointed in June 1868 to review 'the state of military education for officers' and produced its first report in August 1869.⁷⁶ In February 1870 the chairman of the Commissioners received a letter from the Secretary of State for War, Edward Cardwell, requesting that the Royal Commission on Military Education 'now proceed to inquire into the state of general education among the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Army and their children'.⁷⁷ The Commission completed its second report in July 1870 and the following month submitted it to the Queen. As in their first report, the Commissioners built up a picture of educational provision through the evidence of witnesses; written replies to

questions; returns providing factual information and also visits to educational establishments. On 3 March 1870, for example, seven of the Commissioners visited the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea.⁷⁸ In this way a wide cross section of opinion was obtained and, after weighing up the evidence, the Commissioners recommended that the Normal School should close.

At the time, there were only 16 students in the Normal School, 13 soldiers and three civilians, in spite of an authorized establishment of 40, and so not surprisingly the Commissioners questioned whether or not these numbers were sufficient to justify its maintenance. Nor was it simply a matter of numbers; it was also debatable whether the students' subsequent training in the Model School was appropriate, for it only provided teaching practice with children, and hence was not the best method of training schoolmasters for their other duties with adults.⁷⁹ An alternative form of training would be to rely on civilian institutions to train Army schoolmasters prior to their joining the Army. This would entail a financial saving to the Army and would also, in requiring a civilian applicant to train only once, remove a major source of grievance. If, however, the schoolmaster was to be trained before enlisting this would preclude the serving soldier from entering the Corps. Yet the value of the soldier-schoolmaster was widely recognized and it was this that provided the best justification for retaining the Normal School. As the Commissioners pointed out, this argument would lose its force if 'a scheme could be devised for supplying the Army with trained schoolmasters, which, while offering every encouragement to civilian applicants, shall afford all reasonable facilities to soldiers in qualifying themselves for the appointment'.⁸⁰ They believed that they had found such a scheme.

The Commissioners recommended that appointments to the position of Army schoolmaster should be thrown open to public competition among civilians who had spent no less than 12 months in a recognized training establishment, and to soldiers who had either been employed as school assistants for a similar period in an

Army school or had spent six months in the latter capacity and a similar period at a civilian college. Pupil-teachers at the Model School at Chelsea and monitors at the Hibernian School, as under existing arrangements, should be allowed to compete on reaching the age of 20, subject to the same requirements pertaining to character and educational qualifications as other candidates. Successful candidates should be appointed on probation for a period of six months and should serve during that time under a schoolmaster of not less than five years' standing and so obtain experience in teaching adults.⁸¹

In spite of the Commissioners' recommendations the Normal School was not abolished, possibly because of lingering doubts as to whether a new system of training might adversely affect soldier recruitment into the Corps. Perhaps for this reason the Normal School survived a further scrutiny in 1882 when a Committee of Inquiry under Lord Morley also recommended its closure.⁸² Only five years later, the report of a parliamentary committee under Lord Harris, Under-Secretary of State for War, who had a wide remit to investigate all aspects of Army schooling, fully endorsed the findings of earlier reviews. The economic climate had, however, deteriorated. In seeking economies the government was intent upon reducing military expenditure and asked if the Normal School was 'absolutely necessary for the Army on economical grounds and grounds of efficiency'.⁸³ As in 1870, a large number of witnesses were called to give their views and again the response was varied.

General J P Battersby, a former Commandant of the Asylum, did not think that it was advisable to close the Normal School and rely upon civilian training colleges because he believed that the Army would 'get the dregs of the men that they turned out'. He believed that the civilian schoolmaster would invariably prefer employment in civilian schools to those of the Army with its practice of frequent postings around the world.⁸⁴ In contrast, Thomas Carson, who had been an Army schoolmaster since 1857 and was now a sub-inspector of Army schools, believed that a better schoolmaster could be found at the civilian colleges; the Normal

School had provided a valuable service in supplying the Army with trained masters 'when none could be obtained from civil life', but this had now changed.⁸⁵ Similarly, other Army schoolmasters who gave evidence doubted the value of such training. George Young, for example, an Army schoolmaster at Canterbury, could not justify the continuance of the Normal School. Having obtained his certificate at the Cheltenham Training College in 1850 and having taught subsequently at the County National School in Huntingdon, he failed to see, not surprisingly, why his civilian qualifications and experience were not sufficient proof of his ability to teach.⁸⁶ With the Committee intent upon financial savings such views fell on receptive ears.

On the recommendation of the Committee, the Normal School closed in December 1887 and henceforth those who were selected to become Army schoolmasters were appointed assistant schoolmasters on probation for a year at a garrison school; only if finally approved at the end of this period were they enlisted into the Corps of Army Schoolmasters. As before both civilian and military personnel aged 20 to 25 were eligible, although now there was a stated preference for military personnel and students at the two military boarding schools, with civilian certificated teachers filling any remaining vacancies.⁸⁷ Civilian applicants, however, were no longer required to undergo any further training other than the one year probationary period, thus removing one of their major sources of dissatisfaction. NCOs not under the rank of corporal were also eligible provided that they were recommended by their commanding officer and held the first class certificate of education.⁸⁸ This ensured that the military applicant's standard of education was well above that of the average soldier, although he was still required to sit a competitive examination, as were pupil-teachers who applied from the two military boarding schools. The subjects of the examination were: reading, dictation, composition and grammar; geography and English history; arithmetic, algebra, Euclid, trigonometry and mensuration; scripture and music. Any candidate who failed in any one of the first seven subjects was rejected outright, even if he had obtained the qualifying aggregate

overall, and no candidate was accepted who did not demonstrate a proficiency in singing.⁸⁹

Successful candidates were appointed as assistant schoolmasters on probation to garrison schools in the following January. This was intended to ensure that all candidates obtained experience both in teaching children and adults as well as enabling them to learn something about the running of an Army school, thus overcoming one of Mr George Young's criticisms of the system.⁹⁰ At the end of their probationary year they sat an examination in teaching and school management and, if successful, were appointed Army schoolmaster. As before, all were to serve for 12 years. Civilians enlisted and soldiers were discharged from their regiments and re-enlisted for general service.

One Army schoolmaster who was trained under these new arrangements was R J Cameron.⁹¹ Up until his retirement from the Army in 1922 he had spent virtually his whole life in a military environment, for he had entered the Royal Hibernian Military School, Dublin in 1889 at the age of nine. On his 15th birthday he was appointed monitor and allowed to wear three gold stripes and a crown on his scarlet tunic, and received the 'princely' sum of 1/- a week. Soon after his sixteenth birthday he sat the examination for the post of pupil-teacher at one of the two military boarding schools. Competition was open to soldiers; civilians who were pupil-teachers in civilian schools or pupils at secondary school,⁹² as well as to promising youths, such as Cameron, from the two military boarding schools.⁹³ Cameron himself came top in his examinations and during the next two years worked hard to improve his own education as well as practising the art of teaching. Having scored well in his internal exams in June 1898 he went on to pass the War Office examination for Army schoolmaster and in December 1898 he crossed the Irish Sea, arriving at Aldershot just as the schools were opening after the Christmas break.

Aldershot was known as 'Mecca' throughout the Corps of Army Schoolmasters, for all young schoolmasters undertook their probationary year there. Cameron was posted to Number 2 Garrison

School, Salamanca Barracks, where he divided his day between teaching the children and soldiers. The former presented no difficulties for the classes were small and the curriculum the same as at the Hibernian School, but it took time to adapt to instructing the NCOs and enlisted boys for this was new to him, as was some of the subject matter. After ten months on probation, in Cameron's case, he successfully sat his final examination which included a teaching test before a panel of inspectors; giving a magic lantern lecture to soldiers on a subject of his choice and a written examination on school regulations. Cameron was now confirmed as an Army schoolmaster and, as was the custom, was posted to an outstation in the British Isles to gain 'experience and poise' before being posted overseas. Thus, Cameron found himself posted to Limerick and Shorncliffe before sailing for India in 1903.⁹⁴

The reforms of 1887 had been made in response to a number of pressures: the demand for economy of military expenditure; the need for a more professionally relevant training for the Army schoolmaster and concern over recruiting sufficient men of the right calibre. The closure of the Normal School did produce a financial saving; training was now more relevant to the role of the Army schoolmaster and some of the major disincentives which had deterred men from applying had been removed. In other respects, however, the closure of the Normal School was to be regretted. The headmasters of the two military boarding schools now assumed greater responsibility for the education and training of prospective Army schoolmasters, in addition to maintaining their responsibilities towards the children. At the same time, the pupil-teachers themselves had little time to devote to their own studies as they were engaged in instructing the boys for six hours each day.⁹⁵ Finally, it deprived Army schoolmasters of the benefits, educational and social, of a course at a training college, except for those civilian entrants who had already attended one. Nor did it lead to an increase in the number of applicants to the Corps.

During the last five years of the nineteenth century, 100

schoolmasters entered the Corps, the numbers almost equally divided between civilian teachers and pupil-teachers from the two military boarding schools, with one solitary NCO deciding to become an Army schoolmaster. The intake of NCOs had dwindled to almost vanishing-point partly because there were quicker paths to promotion and also because of the examination prowess of the pupil-teachers at Chelsea and Dublin. At the same time there was also concern over the quality of civilian applicants who were not as a rule 'among the best qualified of their class',⁹⁶ although after 1900 recruitment to the Corps hardly extended beyond the 'students', as the pupil-teachers of the two military boarding schools became known after 1900. And here standards seemed to be faltering.

Since many Army schoolmasters on retirement took up employment under a local education authority, it was important that their Army training and qualifications qualified them for the Board of Education's Teacher's Certificate.⁹⁷ But when in 1904 a committee on Army schools, which included a member of the Board of Education, visited the training departments at the Duke of York's and the Royal Hibernian Military Schools and the garrison schools at Aldershot, where prospective Army schoolmasters completed their probationary year, it was not happy with what it found.⁹⁸ It believed that the curriculum was narrow and unbalanced with too much time being devoted to mathematics at the expense of literature, drawing and science, which were largely omitted. The Committee also believed that the timetable allowed the students little free time. Only a few years earlier, in 1901, another committee had recommended that the time devoted to teaching be reduced and that, as in many civilian schools, the half-time system be adopted.⁹⁹ This recommendation was accepted and by 1904 students spent the mornings only engaged in teaching and devoted the afternoons and evenings to lectures and private study. Nevertheless, the Committee of 1904 believed that the timetable was still unbalanced and over-loaded and that the students would benefit from more recreation and 'manly exercises'.¹⁰⁰ Before the Board of Education would agree to recognize Army schoolmasters as certificated teachers these issues had to be addressed.

Following negotiations between the Board and the War Office, central to which was the advice of Mr P A Barnett, the Board's Chief Inspector for the Training of Teachers, the necessary reforms were carried out.¹⁰¹ Consequently, in 1908, the War Office was able to announce that Army schoolmasters who had completed their training after May 1909 would be recognized as holding qualifications 'substantially equivalent' to those represented by the Board's Certificate.¹⁰² This was an important concession and one undoubtedly welcomed by Army schoolmasters, for it would help to secure them an appointment in civilian schools, if they wished, on completion of their military service.¹⁰³

Such then was the system of training for the Army schoolmaster during the period under review, upon which so much of the success of Army education ultimately depended. As the Army's educational system developed so standards rose, as successive reports on military education showed, but improvement was steady rather than dramatic. In part this can be explained by the ambivalent attitude of the military authorities on the merits of educating soldiers, as discussed in Chapter 1. Perhaps, more fundamentally, it can be attributed to the type of person who enlisted in the British Army during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Coming from the poorest sectors of society, few soldiers had even the most basic knowledge of reading and writing and, more importantly, even fewer had the will to address these shortcomings. It was to be many years before the average soldier began to appreciate the benefits of education. Indeed, if one is to understand the enormity of the Army schoolmaster's task in attempting to raise the educational standards of the rank and file and their offspring, and to place his achievements, however modest they might seem, in their proper perspective, one must first have some appreciation of the kind of man who enlisted in the nineteenth century Army and whom the Army schoolmaster was required to instruct.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 4

1. Press advertisement, The Observer, 10 November 1846.
2. PRO WO 143/49, ff.1-34. The Normal School's Register, RMA, Chelsea, 1847-51.
3. Jones D R , The Rev G R Gleig and Early Victorian Army Education (M.A. thesis, Belfast, 1983), p.92.
4. 'Report on the Normal School for Training Regimental Schoolmasters, and on the Model School at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea', by The Revd H Moseley, HMI of Schools, 24 August 1849, in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1848-50, vol.2, pp.853-865, at pp.853-855.
5. For example, Gleig noted with satisfaction that the Training College at Battersea would have been prepared to accept eight or nine soldiers for training. See Chapter 3, p.75. PRO WO 43/796, ff.147-161. Report on Regimental Schools and on the Training of Army Schoolmasters. Gleig to Secretary-at-War, 25 September 1844.
6. They were, however, provided with accommodation, meals and clothing, and no fees were charged.
7. PRO WO 143/49, f.1. The Normal School's Register, RMA, Chelsea, 1847-51.
8. Ibid., f.8.
9. PRO WO 143/39, ff.32-34. MS Letters, Commandant's Correspondence, 1846-52.
10. PRO WO 143/49, f.6. The Normal School's Register, RMA, Chelsea, 1847-51 & Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army, and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms, 1859 (hereafter referred to as The Lefroy Report), Appendix I, no.5, pp.100-102.

11. PRO WO 143/49, f.3. The Normal School's Register, RMA, Chelsea, 1847-51 & 2nd Report by the D.G.M.E., 1874, P.P., XII, 1874, Appendix IV, no.1.
12. The Lefroy Report, 1859, Appendix 1, no.1.
13. Ibid., Appendix 1, no.9, p.162.
14. See Chapter 9, p.294, footnote 89.
15. PRO WO 143/49, ff.5,7 & 13. The Normal School's Register, RMA, Chelsea, 1847-51 & The War Office List and Directory of Administrative Departments of the British Army, 1883.
16. See pp.113-114 of this chapter & also Smith E A, The Royal Commission into Military Education, 1868-70, with Special Reference to the Education of the Non-Commissioned Officer and Soldier (M.A. thesis, London, 1985).
17. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xxix & Minutes of Evidence, para. 2,263.
18. Ibid., paras. 1,340 & 1,342. In Reynolds opinion, although some civilians made very good Army schoolmasters, 'the best soldier is, on the whole, better than the best civilian'.
19. Ibid., p.xxviii.
20. The Lefroy Report, 1859, p.68.
21. A further reason why soldiers were reluctant to become Army schoolmasters might have been because they could not count their previous service towards a pension. This factor was recognized by the Royal Commission on Military Education in 1870 and the ruling was reversed the following year. Henceforth, soldiers were allowed to count previous service towards a pension but not the time spent under training at the RMA, Chelsea. Royal Warrant, 30 August 1871. Allowances of Sub-Inspectors, Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses. MOD Library. The soldier's terms and conditions of service are described in Chapter 9.

22. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, pp.xix-xxi.
23. 3rd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XLIV, 1866, p.xx.
24. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, pp. xviii-xix.
25. Regulations for the Management of Army Schools, 1863, in 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, Appendix XII.
26. At St Mark's College, Chelsea, for example, students were admitted at the age of 15, and by the time Gleig visited the College at Battersea in 1844, students of 18 years of age were accepted although 20 was the preferred age. See Rich R W, The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century (1933), pp. 74 & 86.
27. Regulations for the Management of Army Schools, 1863, in 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P.,XXXIV, 1865, Appendix XII.
28. 4th Report by the C.M.E., 1866, P.P., XLIV, 1866, pp.xxxii-xxxiii. One person who gained immediately from the changes to the regulations was Robert Raymer (1846-1919), formerly a pupil-teacher at St Clements Boys' School, Ipswich. He was 19 years of age when he applied for admission to the Normal School in 1865. Two years later he qualified as an Army schoolmaster and went on to become an inspector before retiring in 1901. Private correspondence, Miss M M Raymer, grand-daughter.
29. The records do not show when pupils from the RHMS, Dublin became eligible to compete for places at the Normal School, Chelsea. It could have been about 1850, as at the Model School, RMA, Chelsea, although the evidence does not confirm this. They were, however, admitted by 1859 at the latest. The Lefroy Report, 1859, p.67.

30. PRO WO 43/807, f.97. Monitors at the RMA, Chelsea. Undated, c.1849 & Memorandum by the CME, 31 July 1861, in 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P.,XXXIV, 1865, Appendix 1.
31. Roberts D W, 'James Thomson, Army Schoolmaster and Poet, 1834-82', a biographical note, RAEC Archives, from a biography of Thomson by H S Salt, British Museum. See also Drabble M (ed), The Oxford Companion to English Literature (1985). At the Normal School, Chelsea, Thomson was an eager student, able to master all that he was required to learn, whilst also reading all the standard authors and acquiring a good critical knowledge of English literature. During his Army service he wrote much poetry, some of which was accepted by various journals, including Charles Bradlaugh's National Reformer. Thomson had become a friend of Bradlaugh during his service in Ireland in the early 1850s, when Bradlaugh was also serving there as a soldier. Thomson did not, however, readily accept military life and his relations deteriorated owing to his difficulty in accepting authority. At the same time, signs of growing alcoholism appeared and in 1862 he was discharged from the Army after court-martial, probably for drunkenness. He settled in London, but lived a sad and isolated life aggravated by insomnia and intemperance. He died in 1882.
32. Memorandum by the CME, July 1861, in 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P.,XXXIV, 1865, Appendix 1.
33. See Chapter 9, pp.280-282.
34. PRO WO 143/42, f.89. RMA MS Letters, Commandant's Correspondence, 1859-64. Memorandum from the CME to the Commander-in-Chief, 12 June 1863.
35. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xxxii.
36. Ibid., p.xxxvii.
37. By 1866, the marital restrictions had been withdrawn in order to assist recruitment. 4th Report by the C.M.E.,

1866, P.P., XLIV, 1866, p.xxxiii. This decision appears, however, to have been reversed for the regulations of 1871 stated that prospective schoolmasters were to be unmarried. Royal Warrant, 30 August 1871. Allowances of Sub-Inspectors, Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses. MOD Library. These regulations were still in force in the 1890s. Instructions for the Guidance of Candidates for Admission to the Army as Schoolmasters, and for Admission into the Duke of York's Royal Military School and the Royal Hibernian Military School as Pupil Teachers, 1894, para. 2.

38. PRO WO 143/49, ff.1-16. The Normal School's Register, RMA, Chelsea, 1847-51.
39. In 1882, five years before the closure of the Normal School, the only changes that had taken place in the entrance examinations to the Normal School were that ancient history and algebra had been dropped and grammar added. Army School Regulations, 1882, Appendix VI.
40. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, Appendix VI, no.1, pp.120-121. See Appendix C.
41. 2nd Report by the D.G.M.E., 1874, P.P., XII, 1874, Appendix VII, no.2, p.168.
42. PRO WO 43/807, ff.87-96. The System of Study and Instruction to be followed in the Normal School of the Royal Military Asylum, 16 May 1849. See Appendix D.
43. The Lefroy Report, 1859, p.68.
44. 'Second Report on the Schools for the Training of Parochial Schoolmasters at Battersea', by J P Kay-Shuttleworth and Edward Carlton Tufnell, 15 December 1843, in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-3, pp.251-282, at pp.260-261.
45. Kay-Shuttleworth J, Four Periods of Public Education (1973), p.309.

46. At an early date, and before Gleig's visit to Battersea in 1844, the College had established some contact with the RMA at Chelsea for, at 7pm, Drill-Instructor Cousens from the Asylum took the Battersea students through marching exercises on one evening and practice on the parallel and horizontal bars the next. See Adkins T, The History of St John's College, Battersea (1906), pp.57-58.
47. The course remained two years in length until 1871, although from 1863 students divided their time equally between the Normal and Model Schools. In 1871, the course was reduced to a maximum of 18 months, one year in the Normal School and six months in the Model School. In subsequent years, this period could be further reduced for the more able candidates.
48. Prior to the reforms of 1846 the headmaster of the Asylum was also the chaplain. In December 1846 Mr Walter Mcleod became headmaster of the Model School, a post he held until his death in June 1875. The increasing secularization of the Asylum was also reflected in the Normal School. In 1860 Mr W J Reynolds, a master at the School, was appointed headmaster.
49. PRO WO 43/807, ff.72-73. Normal School, RMA, Chelsea, timetable, 1849. See Appendix E.
50. Hullah had studied at the Royal Academy of Music in the 1830s and had subsequently accompanied Kay-Shuttleworth to Paris to study how music was taught there before assuming his post at Battersea. See Adkins, op.cit., Chapter VI, 'The Birth of a Musical Nation', pp. 72-87.
51. PRO WO 43/807, ff.68-71. Gleig to WO, 28 December 1848.
52. Ibid., f.102. Gleig to Sullivan, Deputy Secretary-at-War, 16 May 1849.
53. Ibid., f.275. Note by Gleig, 1853. The list of candidates applying to the Normal School in January 1863 totalled 29:

- 8 Roman Catholics; 1 Wesleyan; 1 Baptist and the remainder, Church of England. (PRO WO 143/42, f.63. RMA, MS Letters, 1859-64).
54. 'National Education', in Edinburgh Review, vol.XCV, no.194, April 1852, p.356.
55. Ibid., loc.cit.
56. 'Report of the Poor Law Commissioners on the Training of Pauper Children', London, 1838, p.33. Quoted here from Jones, op.cit., p.37.
57. As already explained in Chapter 1, p.28, the attempt to establish a non-denominational normal school had failed because of sectarian interests. See also Murphy J, Church, State and Schools in Britain, 1800-1970 (1971), p.19.
58. 'Report on the Normal School for Training Regimental Schoolmasters, and on the Model School at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea', by The Revd H Moseley, HMI of Schools, 24 August 1849, in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1848-50, vol.2, pp.853-865, at pp. 855-856.
59. PRO WO 43/807, ff. 87-96. The System of Study and Instruction to be followed in the Normal School of the Royal Military Asylum, 16 May 1849. See Appendix D.
60. English grammar followed the method of Wood's Sessional School in Edinburgh, where the pupils proceeded orally through the theory and rules before they were entrusted with any book on the subject, thus ensuring a thorough understanding of the material. Kay-Shuttleworth, op.cit., pp.338-340.
61. 'Report on the Battersea Training School and the Battersea Village School for Boys', by The Revd John Allen, HMI of Schools, 18 August 1843, in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-3, pp.60-188, at p.65.
62. Smith F, The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth (1974), p.127 & Birchenough C, History of Elementary

Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day
(1938), p.289.

63. The Lefroy Report, 1859, p.12.
64. Jarvis A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office. The Rev. Prebendary George Robert Gleig, MA', in Journal of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department, vol. V, no.39, January 1935, Appendix II.
65. Sturt M, The Education of the People. A History of Primary Education in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century (1967), p.232 & 'Report on the Battersea Training School and the Battersea Village School for Boys', by The Revd John Allen, HMI of Schools, 18 August 1843, in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-3, pp.60-188, at p.65.
66. Jarvis, op.cit., Appendix II.
67. 3rd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XLIV, 1866, p.xxii.
68. The Lefroy Report, 1859, p.69 & 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, p.xxi. Although apparently not part of Gleig's original curriculum, Moseley reported in 1849 that it had been included in the timetable, only it would seem to have been dropped sometime during the 1850s.
69. 'Report on Training Colleges. Report for the year 1862, by the HMI, the Rev B M Cowie, on the Church of England Training Schools for Schoolmasters', undated, in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1862-3, pp.202-226, at p.203.
70. 3rd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XLIV, 1866, p.xxi & Army School Regulations, 1882, Appendix VI.
71. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, p.xxiii.
72. PRO WO 143/42, f.78. RMA MS Letters, Commandant's Correspondence, 1859-64. 'Changes in the Normal School'.

Memorandum from CME to the Commander-in-Chief, 10 February 1863. See also p.126, footnote 47 of this chapter.

73. 6th Report by the C.M.E., 1870, P.P., XXV, 1870, Appendix VIII, no.2, pp.165-170. For details of the CME, see Chapter 8, pp.227-228.
74. Ibid., p.165.
75. 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, pp.xxvii-xxviii.
76. 1st Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1869, P.P.,XXII, 1868-9.
77. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.iii.
78. The Times, 7 March 1870.
79. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, pp.xxviii-xxx.
80. Ibid., pp.xxx-xxxi.
81. Ibid., loc.cit.
82. Report of a Committee on the Royal Hospitals at Chelsea and Kilmainham and on the Educational Establishments at the RMA, Chelsea and RHMS, Dublin, 1882, P.P., XV, 1883. (Also at PRO WO 33/39).
83. Report of The Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, 1887, Minutes of Evidence, p.5.
84. Ibid., p.50. General Battersby was Commandant of the RMA, Chelsea from 1871-80.
85. Ibid., pp.30-31. Captain T Carson later served as headmaster of the Royal Military Asylum, from 1888-95. He was the first of many members of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters and its successors to hold this post. The

current headmaster is a colonel in the Adjutant-General's Corps (Educational and Training Services), (AGC (ETS)), which superseded the RAEC in April 1992.

86. Ibid., p.43.
87. Following the closure of the Normal School in 1887, civilian pupil-teachers who had completed their apprenticeship were no longer eligible for direct selection as Army schoolmasters on probation. Army School Regulations, 1888, Appendix VII & 4th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1889, P.P., XVII, pp.10-11.
88. In 1886, 279 soldiers were in possession of the first class certificate of education, whilst 6,700, 11,477 and 17,080 soldiers held the second, third and fourth class certificates respectively. Report of the Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, 1887, p.vi.
89. Instructions for the Guidance of Candidates for Admission to the Army as Schoolmasters, and for Admission into the Duke of York's Royal Military School and the Royal Hibernian Military School as Pupil Teachers, 1894, paras 4-6.
90. Report of the Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, 1887, Minutes of Evidence, p.43.
91. Cameron R J, 'Life of an Army Schoolmaster as seen through my Experiences, 1889-1920'. RAEC Archives.
92. Army Schoolmaster F H Hawkins, for example, was a pupil at Banbury Municipal School, a new 'up-to-date' secondary school, when he sat the examination for pupil-teacher in 1904. Hawkins F H, 'Army Schoolmaster, 1907-21 & Warrant Officer AEC, 1921-9'. Undated. RAEC Archives.
93. Pupils at Queen Victoria School, Dunblane, Scotland, also became eligible following its foundation in 1902. It was opened in 1908 for the sons of Scottish soldiers and sailors, in memory of Queen Victoria and those who fell in the War in South Africa. SRO Ed 48/842-847.

94. Cameron, op.cit. RAEC Archives.
95. 4th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1889, P.P., XVII, 1889, p.19.
96. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Army Schools, 1901 (under the chairmanship of J R Dasent, hereafter referred to as The Dasent Report), p.1.
97. In 1874 Army schoolmasters who had completed ten years' service could sit the examination for certificates of merit held annually under the Committee of Council on Education in order to become eligible as certificated masters in national schools (General Order, 22 March 1874). The DGME described this as a substantial boom, for every young Army schoolmaster could henceforth reasonably entertain the hope of finding employment in civilian elementary schools after having earned his pension in military service, or even after the completion of his 12 years' service if a sufficiently good opening in civil life presented itself to induce him to relinquish the prospect of a military pension. 3rd Report by the D.G.M.E., 1877, P.P., XXX, 1877, pp. vii-viii.
98. Report of the Committee on Army Schools, 1904 (under the chairmanship of Colonel H Bowles, AAG, Army Schools, hereafter referred to as The Bowles Report), pp.6-7. See Chapter 8, pp.244-245, for further comment on the increasing links between the WO and civilian education, particularly in the field of training and inspection.
99. The Dasent Report, 1901, p.3.
100. The Bowles Report, 1904, pp.6-7.
101. Report on Army Schools, 1910 (under the chairmanship of C F N Macready, Director of Personal Services), p.4.
102. WO letter, 13 October 1908. RAEC Archives.
103. One Army schoolmaster who completed his training after May 1909 was S L Meckiff, who passed out of the Duke of York's

School in 1910. In his memoirs he testifies to the reform of the curriculum. The final examinations comprised a three hour paper on each subject and these subjects included: arithmetic, algebra, mensuration, geometry, trigonometry, English grammar and literature, geography, history, music (theory and practical), science (biology, botany, chemistry, physics), hygiene, shorthand, PT (theory and practical) and school management. The pass mark was 60% in all subjects and failure in English or maths meant total failure and another six months in college. A second failure meant dismissal. Meckiff retired from the Army in 1932, and after four years as an assistant master was promoted headmaster of one of the largest schools in Hendon. According to Meckiff, the ex-Army schoolmaster was very highly thought of in Hendon, four headships in succession 'being awarded to us'. Meckiff S L, 'Memoirs of Army Schoolmasters, Meckiff & Son, 1880-1933'. Undated. RAEC Archives.

CHAPTER 5: THE RAW MATERIAL: THE SOLDIER-PUPIL

The number of recruits required to keep up the establishment of the Army is so great ... that it would be utterly impossible to make previous enquiries into the habits, conduct, or general character of every recruit.¹

Sir John MacDonald, AG, 1836.

Throughout the nineteenth century one of the biggest problems facing the Regular Army was the need to recruit men in sufficient numbers to offset the wastage caused by death, discharge and desertion. In spite of persistent and sustained attempts to make Army life more attractive, the authorities faced severe manpower shortages which were reflected in the discrepancy between the establishment, that is the number of men voted by Parliament, and the number of men actually serving, as shown at Appendix F.² In consequence, the Army was unable to be as selective in its recruiting as it might have wished. The physical standards that were laid down were often circumvented, ignored or adjusted and, as far as intellectual qualities and moral conduct were concerned, little or no attention was paid to these at all, although there were some notable exceptions amongst certain regiments. Robert MacDonald, a former sergeant who recruited men for the Rifle Brigade in the 1830s, recalled that 'it was only in the haunts of dissipation or inebriation and among the very dregs of society' that he met with anything like success. He could 'seldom prevail on even the uneducated to enlist, when they were sober-living and industriously inclined'.³

The military authorities would have liked a better type of recruit but this proved difficult to achieve. Thus, the Army schoolmaster found himself instructing men who had previously received little, if any, formal education and for whom that commodity had scant appeal even if promotion depended upon it. Few were keen to receive formal instruction, many were unambitious and there was general resentment at being ordered to attend the regimental school. This chapter considers why it was that the Army failed to attract a better type of person than it

did and, in the light of this, assesses the quality of the man who did enlist, physically, morally and intellectually. In so doing, the educational standards attained by the soldier, to be discussed in Chapter 6, can be placed in their proper perspective and the expansion of informal education, described in Chapter 7, understood.

An unpopular profession

Underlying the Army's problem of being unable to attract sufficient men to the Colours, was the simple fact that the image of the Army and the status of the soldier were extremely low, a situation that can be attributed to a number of factors. During the nineteenth century there was widespread suspicion of, and disregard for, the Army throughout society, although these became less pronounced as the nineteenth century progressed. Distrust of a standing Army manifested itself, for example, in the deliberate decision by the authorities to keep military buildings in London to a minimum. Such suspicion was clearly evident in the considerable opposition voiced in 1820 to the building of barracks in Regent's Park, not least from the radical paper, the Black Dwarf. It believed that such a policy would isolate the soldier from the ordinary citizen, and it viewed the existence of a standing Army as little more than an instrument of state oppression.⁴ Amongst a wider cross-section of the population, it was equally difficult to maintain popularity for the Army, at least in peacetime.

Popular sentiment had never attached itself to the Army in the same way as the Navy, the latter's value being apparent for all to see; it was understood and appreciated. In contrast, the Army suffered from being a second line of defence against external threat, whilst internally the use of the military as police,⁵ though much curtailed with the advent and development of the constabulary, still aroused resentment among the working classes. When troops were called out in times of industrial dispute, such as to quell the Belfast riots in 1907, there was a feeling that they were being used against their own class. Mr G Roberts, Member of Parliament for Norwich, told the House that it was

inconceivable that the military would ever be called out in the interests of the working classes in an industrial dispute, and when the Army was required to intervene it did so in the interests of the monied classes.⁶ Even when not actively deployed, soldiers were still unwelcome in many areas. Although by the second half of the century the days of billeting were over, memories lingered on and there was still concern over the disturbances that troops might cause, the unruly behaviour of some regiments leading many people to view their presence in the area with considerable apprehension.⁷ Perhaps, therefore, it was not at all surprising that soldiers, individually or collectively, were made to feel like social pariahs and treated with disdain. At the century's close, soldiers were still barred from hotels and theatres when in uniform,⁸ and they were even unwelcome in public houses, as Kipling's 'Tommy' discovered. When he 'went into a public -' ouse to get a pint of beer, the publican e'up an' sez, "We serve no red-coats here"'.⁹

Yet, as the military historian, Edward Spiers, has pointed out, in spite of the general resentment and hostility felt towards the military, there was also much adulation which was not confined to the immediate aftermath of victory; Waterloo Day, for example, was commemorated until Wellington's death in 1852.¹⁰ Even after the setbacks of the Crimean War and the resulting scathing criticism of its conduct, the ordinary soldier won much respect and sympathy and, later in the century, the imperial successes of the Army brought further credit for its generals and rank and file alike, with war correspondents' descriptions of British fortitude, zeal and courage being extolled. But whilst the life of the soldier in far-away places aroused a considerable degree of interest and fascination, and their achievements stired national pride, it did not produce a rush to the Colours. The reasons for this were largely associated with the soldier's terms and conditions of service and also the Army's own recruiting methods.

Disregarding such factors as sobriety, honesty or respectability, particularly during the first half of the century, the recruiting

parties made straight for the public houses and fair-grounds where they engaged their prospective recruits in conversation, extolled the advantages of life with the Colours and pressed the Queen's Shilling upon them.¹¹ Abuse was widespread, with cash bounties being used to attract men, and as the recruiters received a fee for each man that they enlisted every form of deception was encouraged. Not surprisingly, much recruitment took place in drinking places with unscrupulous recruiting sergeants persuading befuddled men to join, as the following account of Roger Lamb, who enlisted in the latter part of the eighteenth century, shows.¹² With almost no money to his name and pride preventing him from returning home, Lamb soon found himself in a public-house which was kept by Sergeant Jenkins, who was also the recruiting sergeant. Jenkins noticed that the top of Lamb's head was above the chalk line on the lintel that marked five feet six and a half inches, the height below which, at that time, no man could be enlisted, and so he gave Lamb another drink on the house. There followed an enquiry into his state of health: had he ever had fits, had he the sight of both eyes and so on. Very soon, Sergeant Jenkins, satisfied with the answers he received, had Lamb 'nobly drunk' and within half an hour had marched him before a Justice of the Peace, who swore him in as a recruit in the Ninth Regiment of Foot.

Over a half century later, following the Crimean War, when almost every aspect of Army life came under review, the authorities turned their attention to the recruiting system and during the 1860s there were two Royal Commissions on the subject. In 1867 the post of Inspector-General of Recruiting was established to ensure that recruiting became more open and honest.¹³ Later in the century greater attention was paid to advertising and publicity, with notices and posters being displayed in newspapers, post offices and other public places,¹⁴ recruiting marches organized and public displays held. Their purpose was to publicize Army life in an attractive yet clear and fair way in order to convince potential recruits and their families that military service was a worthy profession.¹⁵ Perhaps the authorities' attempts to describe Army life in an honest way was

counter-productive, for parental prejudice remained strong, as Private John Fraser, who enlisted in 1877, discovered after he had broken the news to his father

Never have I seen a man so infuriated. To him my step was a blow from which he thought he would never recover, for it meant disgrace of the worst type. His son a soldier! He could not believe his ears. Rather he would have had me out of work for the rest of my life than earning my living in such a manner. More than that, he would rather see me in my grave, and he would certainly never have me in his house again in any circumstances!¹⁶

Such an attitude was typical and was slow to change. Writing some years later, Lord Wavell recalled that 'there was in the minds of the ordinary God-fearing citizen no such thing as a good soldier; to have a member who had "gone for a soldier" was for many families a crowning disgrace'.¹⁷ Military service was widely regarded in the same light as the workhouse, the last resort of the desperate, as indeed it usually was.

When asked to explain why it was that the Army failed to attract a 'better class' of recruit, the Duke of Wellington replied, 'the objection to entering the Army, in my opinion, is the severity and regularity of the duty, the regularity of discipline, and the life which the soldier is obliged to lead, the climates to which he is exposed, and the constancy of service in those climates'.¹⁸ In other words, the disdain felt towards military service was inextricably linked with the lifestyle the soldier endured. His living conditions were spartan, cramped and unhealthy; his rations at best uninteresting; his pay low and his prospects of finding secure employment on discharge, minimal. Arguably, for the majority of men who enlisted such considerations were largely irrelevant, for at least the Army provided a roof over their heads, regular meals and pay, however inadequate they might be. Even the loss of liberty, so despised amongst some sections of the middle classes, seemed unimportant to those for whom 'freedom' often meant destitution.¹⁹ When enlistment for a limited period was sanctioned between 1806 and 1829, the majority of recruits still preferred the option of enlisting for life.²⁰ What these conditions did mean, was that the Army found it

difficult to attract a better type of recruit who would, for example, have had little difficulty in securing steady employment in civilian life. Such employment, furthermore, would not require a man to submit to the harsh discipline and monotonous duties of military life, nor spend most of his working days overseas, often in uncomfortable and unhealthy climates.

The authorities were not unaware of the adverse effect that these features of military service had upon the potential recruit and the serving soldier. In the aftermath of the Crimean War in particular, there was an increasing demand for reform from individuals such as Sidney Herbert and Florence Nightingale, from the press, as well as from official investigations, and much was done in subsequent decades to ameliorate the worst aspects of service life. Nevertheless, their impact on recruitment and retention should not be exaggerated.

Army barracks were described as a disgrace to the country, with conditions at Aldershot garrison being so bad that they constituted one of the 'greatest objections to military life'.²¹ Why was it, asked Sir Harry Verney somewhat rhetorically, that the general commanding that garrison was obliged to rent a home two to three miles away when there were empty houses nearby reserved for senior officers? At Châlons in France, not only did the general live within the camp but the Emperor stayed there too when he visited the garrison.²² Seven years earlier, in 1858, the Royal Commission on Sanitary Conditions in the Army had been scathing in its criticism of barrack accommodation.²³ Soldiers' quarters were more cramped and confined than those of a common felon in Pentonville;²⁴ the sanitary arrangements were inadequate and in some cases revolting, and were not helped by the need to keep windows shut to retain what little heat there was.²⁵ Furthermore, rations were not only meagre but also monotonous, so that a man upon enlistment was faced with a basic diet of bread, broth and boiled meat for the whole period of his service, whilst poor cooking ensured that what he did eat was devoid of almost all nutritional value.²⁶ Under such conditions it was hardly surprising that the mortality rate of the Army at

home was much higher than amongst similar classes in civilian life, whilst overseas it was even higher.²⁷ Perhaps though a greater disincentive, as far as the potential recruit was concerned, was the lack of any financial attraction.

Recruiters tended to imply that the minimum pay would be one shilling a day, but after deductions for cloths and cleaning materials, and possibly library subscriptions, barrack damages, fines for disciplinary offences and on so, few were lucky enough to see more than a few pence and some nothing at all.²⁸ A labouring man could earn more than a soldier besides preserving his liberty. Giving evidence before a select committee appointed in 1892 to consider the soldier's terms and conditions of service, Viscount G Wolseley protested that 'unless we can give a very high rate of pay, we shall always be obliged to take in the waifs and strays'.²⁹

The reason why Army pay was not substantially raised during the nineteenth century was that all governments were unwilling to increase public expenditure on the Army. Amongst the middle classes, the Army was widely regarded as an unnecessary expense, with the Army estimates attacked yearly as non-productive expenditure and assurances demanded that the Army did not exceed the establishment.³⁰ Even the wide-ranging reforms initiated by Edward Cardwell, Secretary of State for War in Gladstone's first ministry, were motivated as much by economic as military considerations; indeed, the Prime Minister had sent Cardwell to the War Office, not because the latter was especially interested in the Army, but because he wanted it to be run at less expense.³¹ Cardwell believed that this could be achieved alongside increased efficiency, but that depended on maintaining a high level of recruiting from the 'more reputable portions of the population'. This, Cardwell maintained, could only be achieved by minimizing the periods of foreign service and reducing the period of enlistment.³²

Thus, Cardwell recalled units from overseas and introduced shorter lengths of service. Under the Army Enlistment Act of 1870, enlistment would henceforth be initially for 12 years, six

to be spent with the Colours and six in the Reserves, along the lines of the Continental armies. Considerable benefits were expected to accrue from this legislation. It would create a Reserve but also, hopefully, attract a better type of person in increasing numbers, for a man need no longer commit the rest of his life to the Service and, by leaving at a relatively young age, would have a reasonable prospect of finding suitable employment upon discharge. From the authorities' point of view it would entail financial savings for, with fewer men serving 21 years, the pension list would be reduced and less provision needed for a married establishment.

The overall success or otherwise of Cardwell's reforming programme lies outside the scope of this study but, as far as recruiting was concerned, it fell short of expectations in securing a steady flow of recruits and attracting a better quality man.³³ By allowing men to leave after relatively few years' service, the Army required more recruits annually, as some had foreseen.³⁴ One solution would have been greater use of the Reserve, but there was a reluctance to do so because of its possible implications for subsequent employment. Although Reserve exercises were infrequent, reservists were called out periodically because of recurrent manpower shortages,³⁵ and this meant that many employers were unwilling to take on ex-servicemen in spite of government assurances that they would only be used in times of national emergency.

A further consequence of the introduction of short service was that it compounded rather than eased the problem of finding employment, as more men were now being discharged annually. For the majority, employment prospects remained poor and the sight of veterans begging for money or entering the workhouse was unlikely to encourage recruiting.³⁶ During the last three decades of the century, reformers increasingly pressed for more attention to be paid to resettlement for humanitarian as well as for more pragmatic reasons, although this had been advocated some years earlier. In the 1840s, Gleig, as Inspector-General of Army Schools and Chaplain-General, could not understand why positions

in the Post Office or in the Metropolitan Police were not set aside for men on completion of their service.³⁷ Later in the century a number of such posts were reserved for ex-soldiers and, under pressure from the Wantage Committee and other committees concerned with recruitment,³⁸ the range of posts widened slightly to include, for example, clerks, customs and prison officials and park-keepers. The numbers, however, were always modest, and minute as a proportion of the overall number of men being discharged annually.³⁹

The reluctance of government to assist the soldier to find employment can be attributed to the expense it would entail and to the fact that no precedent existed for large-scale government action against unemployment. This meant that the soldier had to find work himself or seek the assistance of an increasing number of private organizations which had grown up to fill the vacuum left by government,⁴⁰ but this was no easy task. The soldier often encountered prejudice against servicemen in general, a feeling shared even by government departments where they were only entrusted with simple and menial tasks,⁴¹ whilst employers believed, with rather more justification, that the soldier possessed few marketable skills. With the exception of some engineers, gunners and cavalrymen, few soldiers left the Army with any trade training or skills which could readily be transferred to civilian employment.

What was needed was for the Army to make provision for technical and vocational education and training, which would have assisted in resettling the soldier as well as helping to alleviate the tedium of Army routine. In Parliament there was some support for the idea of technical education in basic trades,⁴² and in 1861 a select committee, set up to inquire into libraries, reading rooms and other kinds of instruction and recreation, proposed that trades' rooms or workshops be established for men to use in their free time.⁴³ The following year, another select committee was appointed under Major-General J R Crauford to consider the instruction and employment of soldiers and their children in trades.⁴⁴ It recognized the value of increasing the

number of skilled craftsmen within the Army, thereby reducing dependence on outsiders, but it did not fully appreciate its advantages for the soldier during his active service or after discharge, nor its implications for recruiting. Consequently, little was done in the field of technical and vocational education at the time, a situation that remained essentially unchanged for the remainder of the period.

It was perhaps surprising that so little was done to provide any technical training outside the technical corps given the advantages that could have accrued in terms of recruiting and retention. One should remember, however, that there were few precedents for this in civilian life, with apprenticeship remaining the chief method of learning a trade before 1900. Technical education on a large scale in civilian secondary education was slow to establish itself and this was largely because those at the helm had no experience of, and perhaps therefore little interest in, such education or training,⁴⁵ a story that was similar in Army circles. Given all of these factors, it was probably not surprising that the Army had difficulty in enticing many to enlist.

Reasons for enlistment

Motives for 'joining up' varied considerably, but as the first Royal Commission into Recruiting (1861) concluded, few men enlisted with any real inclination for military life,⁴⁶ and those that did usually came from military families. Included in this group were the boy soldiers of 14 years of age from the two military boarding schools at Chelsea and Dublin, but even though a high proportion of the pupils from both schools enlisted, they constituted only a small proportion of the Army's overall strength. For the most part, as Lieutenant-General Sir G A Wetherall, the Adjutant-General, told the Commission, it was a rare exception to find a man enlisting for the love of being a soldier.⁴⁷ Instead, it was usually negative reasons, such as want of work, pecuniary embarrassment, family quarrels or difficulties of a private nature, that drove a man into the Army.⁴⁸

Unemployment was certainly an important factor in inducing many men to enlist, as soldiers' memoirs show, but other factors played a part. For some it was a means of escape from domestic or other circumstances, whilst others enlisted on impulse in the hope of a more exciting or adventurous life. Private Lamb who, it will be recalled,⁴⁹ enlisted towards the end of the eighteenth century, did so on the spur of the moment, whereas his three fellow-recruits found in the Army a way of escape, one being a pick-pocket recruited in Dublin jail, another a gin-shop keeper whose only means of evading his creditors had been to join up, whilst the third was a 'delicate young fellow named Richard Harlow who was a man of some education and evidently owed his presence among us to some personal misfortune'.⁵⁰ Similarly, Trooper Buck Adams, who enlisted over 50 years later, in 1843, found himself joining alongside two young gentlemen who had held good positions in a city firm, a tramp and one who had just completed a 12 month prison sentence.⁵¹

Irrespective of motive, those who joined the Army came primarily from the least skilled sections of the working classes, and increasingly from urban areas. By 1860 industrial workers clearly predominated, whilst those with any sort of a trade or skill made up less than one third of the rank and file, and subsequent returns indicated that these trends continued for the remainder of the century, as shown at Appendix G.⁵² This was to become an increasing cause for concern to the military authorities who believed that the urban environment was the one least conducive to physical fitness, whilst the unskilled labourer was unlikely to possess the intellectual resources that were increasingly, albeit very slowly, becoming accepted as important for the soldier and especially the NCO. To a large extent these trends lay outside the control of the military authorities, but they compounded the problem by frequently lowering the entry requirements in those areas where there were minimum standards. The overall result was generally a poor quality of recruit, physically, morally and intellectually.

The quality of the recruit

In the days before mechanisation it was understandable that the essential qualities looked for in a soldier were sound health and stamina and, according to Henry Marshall, Deputy Inspector-General of Army Hospitals, much care had been taken since the beginning of the nineteenth century to take none but able-bodied men.⁵³ Physical standards were laid down and potential recruits were required to undergo a medical examination which included meeting the stipulated age, height and weight. In practice, recruits were often accepted who did not come up to the minimum levels if, in the view of the medical and recruiting officers, they were likely to become efficient soldiers, whilst for the majority the medical examination was a perfunctory affair. It took only a couple of minutes for Private Bingham of the Cumberland Regiment to be examined and, in his opinion, the exercise was very rough and ready, the primary objective being to 'get it over and done with as quickly as possible'.⁵⁴

A further device for ensuring that as many men as possible passed the medical examination was simply to lower the standard ⁵⁵ whilst, to add to the subterfuge, potential recruits themselves concealed information where possible, particularly their age. Some men did not know the parish in which their birth was registered, but even if they did they often would not say ⁵⁶ and, in any case, the recruiting staff themselves were often not unduly anxious to apply the rules precisely. Private, later Field-Marshal, William Robertson was only 17 years and nine months when he took the Queen's Shilling in 1877. Although the minimum age for enlistment was then 18, he was tall for his years and so the recruiting sergeant in Worcester wrote 18 years two months 'to be on the safe side'.⁵⁷

In spite of the frequent adjustments made to, and infringements of, the regulations relating to the physical requirements of the recruit, many men were either rejected outright or discharged soon afterwards on medical grounds. These high figures, together with the low standard of those who were accepted, became a matter of serious concern to the authorities and even led some to

believe that the nation as a whole was degenerating physically. It is interesting to note that in 1899 a school dental service was advocated on the grounds that it would prevent potential recruits being rejected later on.⁵⁸ The experience of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902, only appeared to confirm the pessimistic views of many as to the physical condition of the recruit. Giving evidence before the Royal Commission set up in 1903 to investigate that war, Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Kelly-Kenny, the Adjutant-General, spoke of the poor constitution of many of the young soldiers,⁵⁹ and it should be remembered that these were men who had passed the medical examination; over 35% of those presenting themselves for selection were rejected as physically unfit for service.⁶⁰ Lieutenant-General Sir Archibald Hunter was equally depressed over the men's poor physique, but added that he did not think that the Army fairly represented the manhood of the Empire.⁶¹ This was also the conclusion of an Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, which was set up in 1904 in response to growing alarm at the type of recruit being obtained. It found no evidence to suggest that the physical standard of the youth of the country was declining overall ⁶² and so the only deduction that could be made, given the fact that so many failed the medical examination at a time when the physical standards demanded were low, was that the Army could only attract recruits from amongst the nation's weakest physical specimens.

According to some senior officers serving in South Africa, the physical decline of the soldier could be attributed to the increasing reliance being placed on recruiting men from the poorest districts of crowded towns.⁶³ For some years there had been growing concern over the numbers being drawn from the industrial and manufacturing regions. In the House of Commons in 1875, Army officers were alarmed over reliance on those they described as 'the scum of our large cities, sons of infirm parents - youths brought up in the haunts of vice and crime, who have breathed foul air from the cradle, and who were morally and physically inferior to those obtained from the agricultural districts'. ⁶⁴ By the middle of the century the rural recruit

was already in a minority,⁶⁵ a trend generally regretted. One officer, Colonel H Graham, giving evidence to the Royal Commission on Recruiting in 1867, opined that he never saw any longer 'the chaw-bacon fellow in a smock frock'.⁶⁶ The rural recruit was widely considered to possess many of the qualities required of the Victorian soldier; he was believed to be healthier and fitter than the urban worker and also more obedient, malleable and contented with his lot.

If the military authorities favoured a man who was unable or disinclined to think for himself or to question, and who blindly accepted everything that he was told, this would appear to be inconsistent with the Army's efforts, over many decades, to improve his proficiency in the three Rs and to develop his initiative and resourcefulness. Such an apparent contradiction can, at least in part, be explained by the fact that there were widely differing views within the Army as to the intellectual qualities to be sought in the soldier, and hence over educational provision. Some, although an increasing minority, were opposed to the fostering of any educational activity, which they regarded as being at best irrelevant or at worst prejudicial to discipline, or even seditious.⁶⁷ A larger proportion supported some education, to enable the soldier to perform his duties and also to utilize the regimental library and thus help to keep him out of trouble, whilst a smaller, but growing number, believed that education should mean more than the ability to read and write imperfectly and that it should encourage and enable men to think and act for themselves as intelligent and reasoning beings.⁶⁸

The need for the soldier to possess an increasing degree of individual initiative and intelligence, long recognized by certain regiments, was much more widely accepted by the close of the nineteenth century. Giving evidence to the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa, Lieutenant-General Sir Ian Hamilton explained that these qualities were now essential in the soldier given the conditions of modern warfare. The development of long-range arms and smokeless powder had meant a considerable extension in the lines of battle, which reduced the officer's command

and control and consequently placed greater responsibility upon the individual soldier.⁶⁹ But like many other senior officers giving evidence, he pointed out that these qualities were severely lacking and that the overall educational attainment of the young soldier was very low.

According to Major-General Sir Henry Hildyard this was hardly surprising given the social background of the recruit. It was unreasonable to expect men who joined, a number of whom were totally illiterate, to develop into intelligent soldiers, although some were sharp and could be counted as leaders.⁷⁰ Lord Methuen concurred, adding that, in the light of this, the British soldier could never be expected to have the 'cunning and shrewdness of the Dutchman, or of our Colonials from New Zealand and Australia'.⁷¹ Continuing this comparative assessment, Sir Kelly-Kenny believed that the British soldier's mental qualifications bore little comparison with his European counterparts, because Britain recruited from a class where little emphasis was placed upon education.⁷² There is little doubt that some Continental armies, such as those of France and Prussia, recruited a better educated man which might be attributed to various factors. It could have been the result of better terms and conditions of service. Alternatively, it could have reflected national educational systems that were superior to the dual system of England and, since their armies were composed of conscripts, they comprised a more representative cross-section of the population. The British volunteer Army, in contrast, had to recruit from those who came forward, and as service with the Colours was not a particularly attractive prospect it was only those from the least respectable sectors of society who volunteered.

Given its acute recruiting problems throughout the nineteenth century, the Army as a whole had never been able to lay down formally any moral or intellectual standards as a precondition of enlistment. According to the United Services Magazine, only 12 failed in 1843-4 because of 'weak intellect' out of the 6,026 who were turned down.⁷³ Nevertheless, there were considerable

variations in the level of a recruit's education on enlistment, according to his arm of the Service and the geographical area in which he enlisted. Many Scots, recruited into the Scottish or English regiments, were better educated than their English or Irish colleagues, reflecting possibly Scotland's superior educational system. The Rifle Brigade, which was rather more selective in its choice of men than many regiments, found that of those who enlisted in 1843, only 27.3% were illiterate and of these only a tiny proportion were Scots.⁷⁴ Of those enlisting from England, the Southern counties showed up badly, the Sussex man being 'the most boorish' and those from Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire being amongst the least literate.

As one would expect, this geographical distribution of literacy amongst recruits closely resembled that of the civilian community from which they were drawn, with levels of literacy being significantly lower in the counties around London than in the capital itself or in the far north, in Northumberland. Whilst it is relatively easy to explain the higher levels of attainment in the North which can partly be attributed to its proximity to Scotland, it is less easy to explain developments in the Home Counties, as Lawrence Stone points out.⁷⁵ One possible, although by no means conclusive, explanation suggested by Stone was that the more intelligent and more literate of the labouring classes of these areas were continually being siphoned off into London, leaving only the more ignorant behind. It was from this latter group that the Army found most of its men, especially the infantry regiments which took the bulk of recruits. Standards though did vary noticeably between the different parts of the Service.

In general, the social and educational background of cavalry recruits were superior to those of the infantry. Some regiments, such as the Grenadier Guards and Royal Artillery, checked the previous character of the soldiers; the Royal Sappers and Miners expected their recruits to be not only of good character, but also able to read and write and to have some knowledge of a mechanical trade.⁷⁶ Even within the infantry, which took the

highest proportion of uneducated men, there were some men of intelligence and ability. Sergeant Lamb of the Ninth Regiment of Foot⁷⁷ certainly possessed a level of education superior to most of his colleagues for, prior to joining the Army, he had been a clerk and after his discharge in 1784 he became a schoolmaster at the Free School in White Friar's Lane in Dublin.⁷⁸ Similarly, John Fraser, who enlisted almost a century later, in 1877, had received a sound education both at school in Scotland and in the home where reading had been very much a part of his childhood memories.⁷⁹ Unlike the majority of those enlisting, Fraser did not forget all that he had learnt in his youth. On joining his regiment his educational standard was assessed and, side-stepping the third class certificate of education, Fraser sat and passed his second class which made him eligible for promotion to sergeant, which he soon achieved.

Fraser was, however, exceptional. When a committee was set up in 1887 under Lord Harris to review the work undertaken in the regimental schools, it was dismayed to find that, as far as recruits were concerned, over 40% could not obtain their fourth class certificate. Recruits were expected to take this certificate soon after enlisting. It equated to Standard II, which children of eight were expected to pass.⁸⁰ Any attempt fully to assess the precise educational level of the recruit depends very largely on how one defines literacy, and this will be more fully considered in Chapter 6. What the figures do reveal, no doubt accurately, is the gradual improvement in the literacy of Army recruits which can be attributed partially to the expansion of civilian elementary education in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, for there is no evidence to suggest that the Army was able to attract a better type of person. Even so, the results of the Education Act of 1870 were disappointing to the military authorities.

It had been widely hoped and expected that the educational level of the recruit would rise following the 1870 Elementary Education Act. Like most concerned with Army education at this time, Colonel A C Gleig, the Inspector of Army Schools and nephew of

the former Inspector-General, believed that within ten years or so of the Act all recruits would have passed through the elementary school before enlisting, and consequently there would no longer be any need for basic education in the adult schools; the schoolmaster could then concentrate upon instructing potential NCOs in military subjects of a more advanced nature.⁸¹ But with the passage of time these expectations were not realized. By the late 1880s, the Director-General of Military Education was lamenting that the general education of the recruit was still at a low ebb, but added that this was hardly surprising given that recruits who enlisted at 18 or over had usually left school at 12 or 13 years of age and frequently at ten. This had given them ample time to forget everything that they might have learnt and, he continued, only 62% of the civilian school population attended daily, so that 38% evaded the provisions of the Act and grew up with practically no education whatever.⁸² No doubt the Director-General was correct in his belief that it was from this latter group that a large proportion of recruits was obtained.

During the early years of the twentieth century better assessment methods were introduced. All recruits, soon after enlistment, were examined in order to ascertain their educational standard, an innovation that not only provided more detailed information than previously but also reflected the increasing concern of the authorities. They showed that although the days when a recruit who joined the Army could rarely sign his name had passed, the amount of learning possessed by the average recruit was still 'sadly limited, even in the days of Board Schools and "character" recruits'.⁸³ After examination, recruits were placed in one of five educational categories, A to E. Those in the top category, A, were up to Standard VII level and were described as 'men of good education', whilst those in the lowest group, E, were described as 'illiterate', that is, below Standard II level. In the decade preceding the First World War, the number of men in each of these groups remained relatively small, 6% and 10% respectively, with the overwhelming majority being very roughly equally divided between the intermediate grades. Overall, only 30% were up to Standard V, whilst approximately 40% were below Standard III and of these 10% were illiterate.⁸⁴

Such was the raw material which the Army tried to mould into an effective force. Like many reformers, G R Gleig had predicted that unless there were radical changes in the soldier's lifestyle, the Army would only attract the idle and the dissolute and would never fill its ranks with a better sort of man. He was to be proved largely correct. There were some improvements in the soldier's terms and conditions of service, but they remained unattractive to the overwhelming majority of the youth of the nation. At the close of the period under review the average recruit was still an unskilled labourer, although he was now more likely to come from an urban rather than a rural background, and even though the evidence suggests that standards rose, he remained poorly-educated in spite of the growth of provision for elementary schooling. On a more optimistic note, Gleig had also observed that whilst it might not be possible to recruit the kind of person the Army wanted, there was no reason why it could not take steps to improve him once he had enlisted, physically, morally and intellectually. Gleig was not alone in expressing such views and it was because these qualities in the soldier were increasingly regarded as important that steps were taken to develop them in the classroom and through a variety of educational and recreational means. In all of these areas the Army schoolmaster had a crucial role to play.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 5

1. Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army, 1836 (hereafter referred to as The Military Punishments Commission), P.P., XXII, 1836, Minutes of Evidence, Sir John MacDonald, AG, Q.65.
2. Skelley A R, The Victorian Army at Home. The Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular, 1859-1899 (1977), p.321. See Appendix F.
3. MacDonald R, Personal Narrative of Military Travel and Adventure in Turkey and Persia (1859), p.296, quoted here in Spiers E M, The Army and Society, 1815-1914 (1980), p.41.
4. Black Dwarf, vol. V, no.2, 2 July 1820, p.62. Fears of the Army were prevalent at this time. For example, it was accused of outrages against civilians. The Manchester Guardian, 4 August 1832.
5. Hart J M, 'The Reform of the Borough Police, 1835-56', in English Historical Review, vol. 70, July 1955, pp.411-427. For an account of the Army's role in support of the civil authorities, see Stevenson J, Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1870 (1979) & Boyd L G, The Role of the Military in Civil Disorders in England and Wales, 1780-1811 (Ph.D.thesis, Tennessee, 1977).
6. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Army Estimates, 5 March 1908, vol. 185, col.921.
7. When, for example, it was proposed to establish a military depot in Oxford in the 1870s, Randolph Churchill expressed concern in the House of Commons. In his opinion, it would turn an ancient university town into a garrison, where the 'mingling of learned professors and thoughtful students with roystering soldiers and licentious camp followers' would demoralize its ancient institution. Hansard's Parliamentary

- Debates, Army Military Centres, Oxford, 22 May 1874, vol.219, cols. 713-714.
8. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Licencing Houses and Military Uniforms, 20 August 1895, vol. 36, col.369 & Admission to Theatres of Soldiers in Uniform, 20 October 1902, vol. 113, col.212.
 9. Kipling R, Barrack Room Ballads and Other Verses (1916), pp.6-7.
 10. Spiers, op.cit., p.73.
 11. Mention has already been made of George Farquhar's play 'The Recruiting Officer', in Chapter 1, p.29. Although the business of finding recruits was turned into a veritable comedy, with the recruiter, Sergeant Kite, coaxing and bamboozling his victims, this was very much true to life for Farquhar had himself been a recruiting officer.
 12. Graves R, Sergeant Lamb of the Ninth (1985), pp.10-12.
 13. Terms and conditions of service were set out more clearly in recruiting advertisements; recruiting officers were instructed to conduct their efforts with propriety and to remove their offices from public houses, and men were not to be taken before a magistrate for attestation before a minimum period of 24 hours had elapsed, in order to allow the recruit time to reconsider his decision. Memorandum by the Inspector-General of Recruiting, 1870, P.P., XLII, 1870. See also Skelley, op.cit., Chapter 5, for a discussion of the recruiting system.
 14. See, for example, Annual Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting, 1893, P.P.,XVI, 1893-4, pp.1-26.
 15. Annual Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting, 1881, P.P.,XX, 1881, pp.6-7.
 16. Fraser J, Sixty Years in Uniform (1939), pp.42-53.

17. Field Marshal Sir A Wavell, Soldiers and Soldiering (1953), p.125.
18. The Military Punishments Commission, 1836, Minutes of Evidence, Q.5,806.
19. Marshall H, Military Miscellany. A History of the Recruiting of the British Army, Military Punishments etc (1846), p.91.
20. Between 1806 and 1829, men enlisted either for life, which in practice meant 21 years in the infantry, artillery and engineers, and 24 years in the cavalry or, alternatively, for a limited period of seven years. The latter, however, had limited appeal because of the disparity of the bounties offered for the alternative terms of service.
21. Bond B, 'The Late Victorian Army', in History Today, vol.X1, no.9, September 1961, pp.616-624, at p.623 & Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Supply, Army Estimates, 24 March 1865, vol. CLXXVIII, cols.245-246.
22. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, ibid., loc.cit.
23. Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Regulations Affecting the Sanitary Conditions of the Army, the Organization of Military Hospitals, and the Treatment of the Sick and Wounded, 1858, P.P.,XVIII, 1857-8.
24. Ibid., Minutes of Evidence, Q.5,139.
25. Ibid.,p.xvii.
26. Ibid., p.xxvii & Minutes of Evidence, Q.3,060.
27. Ibid., p.xii. In Jamaica, for example, the annual death rate between 1817 and 1836 was 128 per 1,000 men.
28. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Supply, Army Estimates, 6 March 1902, vol. 104, cols. 685-686.
29. Report of the Committee on the Terms and Conditions of Service in the Army, 1892 (hereafter referred to as The

Wantage Report), P.P.,XIX, 1892, Minutes of Evidence, Qs.8,716 & 8,816.

30. For example, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Army Estimates, 15 March 1895, vol.31, cols.1,157-1,209.
31. Bond B, 'Edward Cardwell's Army Reforms, 1868-74', in Army Quarterly, vol.LXXXIV, no.1, 1962, pp.108-117, at p.108.
32. Gladstone's Papers, 21-8, quoted here in Bond B, 'Edward Cardwell's Army Reforms, 1868-74', ibid., p.109.
33. For an assessment of Cardwell's reforms, see Bond B, 'The Effect of the Cardwell Reforms in Army Organization, 1874-1904', in Journal of the Royal United Services Institution, vol.105, November 1960, pp.515-524 & Tucker A V, 'Army and Society in England, 1870-1900: A Reassessment of the Cardwell Reforms', in Journal of British Studies, vol.II, no.2, May 1963, pp.110-141.
34. By 1880, less than 25% of the infantry completed three years' service. See Bond B, 'The Effect of the Cardwell Reforms in Army Organization, 1874-1904', ibid., p.521.
35. The Wantage Report, 1892, p.533.
36. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Supply, Army Estimates, 16 May 1887, vol. 315, col.71. Colonel Duncan noted from the workhouse returns that a high proportion were Reservists.
37. Gleig G R, 'Education and Lodging of the Soldier', in Quarterly Review, vol.77, no.154, March 1846, pp.526-563, at p.538.
38. The Wantage Report, 1892, pp.18-19 & Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting, 1898, P.P.,XIII, 1898, pp.12-13.
39. According to The Wantage Report, 1892, p.18, between 1870 and 1891, more than 4,700 minor positions in the Civil Service were filled, yet only 220 of these went to ex-servicemen.

40. One such organization was the Association for the Employment of Reserve and Discharged Soldiers, established in 1885. After 1890, it received modest financial help from the government and by the end of the century had opened branches throughout the United Kingdom. Annual Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting, 1901, P.P., IX, 1901, p.24.
41. Tucker, op.cit., p.136 & Report from the Select Committee on Soldiers, Sailors and Marines (Civil Employment), 1877, P.P.,XV, 1877, Minutes of Evidence, Q.517.
42. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Supply, Army Estimates, 13 March 1862, vol. CLXV, col.1,461 & The Militia Bill, 4 May 1869, vol. CXCVI, col.90.
43. Report of a Committee on the Present State and on the Improvement of Libraries, Reading Rooms and Day Rooms, 1861, pp.11-12. For a fuller account of its recommendations, see Chapter 7, pp.209-210.
44. Report of a Committee on the Proper Means for the Instruction and Employment of Soldiers and their Children in Trades, 1862, P.P.,XXXII, 1863, pp.5-6.
45. Some writers have argued that government intervention in support of science and technology was usually too little and too late. This they attribute, at least in part, to the social and educational backgrounds of what we would now call the 'establishment'. These were men of similar backgrounds steeped in the same traditions and deeply influenced by the ethos of the public schools and Oxbridge. Roderick G W & Stephens M D, Education and Industry in the Nineteenth Century (1978), pp.167-172.
46. Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Present System of Recruiting in the Army, 1861, P.P.,XV, 1861, p.xvii.
47. Ibid., Minutes of Evidence, General Sir G A Wetherall, AG, Q.34.

48. Ibid., p.xvii.
49. See p.136 of this chapter.
50. Graves, op.cit., p.13.
51. Colonel H De Waterville, The British Soldier, His Daily Life from Tudor to Modern Times (1954), p.138.
52. Skelley, op.cit., pp.296-297. See Appendix G.
53. Marshall, op.cit., pp.89-90.
54. Wyndham H, Following the Drum (1914), pp.6-7. (Private Bingham of the Cumberland Regiment is the fictitious hero of the book).
55. For example, in 1861 the minimum height was five feet eight inches; in 1868 this was reduced to five feet five inches, and in 1870 to five feet four and a half inches. Skelley, op.cit., p.237.
56. Annual Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting, 20 February 1893, P.P.,XVI, 1893-4, pp.6-7.
57. Robertson rose through the ranks to become CIGS from 1915-18. Field Marshal Sir W Robertson, From Private to Field Marshal (1921), pp.1-2 & Woodward D R (ed), The Military Correspondence of Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, December 1915 - February 1918 (1989), pp.1-16.
58. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Army Estimates, 3 March 1899, vol.67, col.1,319. Captain C W Norton proposed the adoption of the Continental system where elementary school children's teeth were inspected regularly.
59. Report of the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa, 1903, P.P.,XL, 1904, Minutes of Evidence, Qs.4,560 & 4,736.
60. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, 1904, P.P.,XXXII, 1904, Appendix 1,

- pp.95-97. Report by Sir W Taylor, Director-General Army Medical Services.
61. Report of the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa, 1903, P.P.,XL1, 1904, Minutes of Evidence, Q.14,595. The witness had commanded a division, Western Transvaal and Orange River Colony.
 62. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, 1904, P.P.,XXXII, 1904, pp.92-93. See also Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Debate on Physical Deterioration, 20 July 1905, vol.149, cols. 1,304-1,352.
 63. The AG, for example, alludes to this in Report of the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa, 1903, P.P.,XL, 1904, Minutes of Evidence, Q.4,736.
 64. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Supply, Army Estimates, Colonel Mure, 8 March 1875, vol. 222, col.1,463.
 65. Skelley, op.cit., pp.289-290.
 66. Report of the Royal Commission on Recruiting for the Army, 1867, P.P.,XV, 1867, Minutes of Evidence, Q.157.
 67. See, for example, the views of the Duke of Wellington in Chapter 3, pp.86-88 and the Duke of York in Chapter 7, pp.206-207 of this thesis.
 68. Marshall, op.cit., pp.320-321. See also The Military Punishments Commission, 1836, Minutes of Evidence, Qs.1,724-1,726.
 69. Report of the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa, 1903, P.P.,XLI, 1904, Minutes of Evidence, Q.13,941.
 70. Ibid., Minutes of Evidence, Q.15,972.
 71. Ibid., Minutes of Evidence, Q.14,226.
 72. Report of the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa, 1903, P.P.,XL, 1904, Minutes of Evidence, Q.4,559.

73. United Services Magazine, Part II, 1846, p.271, quoted here in Strachan H, Wellington's Legacy. The Reform of the British Army, 1830-54 (1984), p.54.
74. Strachan, op.cit., p.89.
75. Stone L, 'Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1900', in Past and Present, no.42, February 1969, pp. 69-139.
76. Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army, and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms, 1859, pp.6-7. See also Strachan, op.cit., p.91.
77. See p.136 of this chapter.
78. Graves, op.cit., pp.vi & 9.
79. Fraser, op.cit. Reading was very much a part of the life of the family, with his father reading from the Bible or Pilgrim's Progress each evening.
80. Report of the Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, 1887, p.vi. For further details of the fourth class certificate, see Chapter 6, pp.169-171.
81. 2nd Report by the D.G.M.E., 1874, P.P., XII, 1874, Appendix II, no.2, p.26.
82. 4th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1889, P.P.,XVII, 1889, pp. 14-15.
83. Colonel H C C D Simpson, 'The Education of the Soldier', in Journal of the Royal United Services Institution, vol.51, January 1907, pp.206-212, at pp.206-207.
84. Major A J E Cummins, RAEC, 'An Historical Survey of Illiteracy in the Army', in Journal of the Royal Army Educational Corps, vol.XXVI, no.2, September 1952, pp.80-86.

CHAPTER 6: FORMAL EDUCATION

Throughout the nineteenth century the cornerstone of the curriculum in both the adult and elder children's schools, for which the Army schoolmaster was responsible, was the three Rs, thus continuing to reflect the utilitarian beginnings of the regimental school. As already shown in Chapter 1, the aims of Army education, and hence the content of the curriculum, were conditioned by a number of critical influences: socio-economic, religious and humanitarian.¹ Affecting both military and civilian elementary schools alike, they collectively gave rise to the tradition of a narrow, cheap and inferior elementary education with a strong emphasis upon the basic skills. As the century progressed, institutional factors also came to influence the curriculum, especially the growing prominence given to inspection and examinations, as will be discussed in Chapter 8. For much of the teaching day, the schoolmaster's work was confined to teaching the basic subjects to the appropriate level: for the adult and boy soldiers those laid down by the Army certificates of education and for the children the 'standard' according to their age. This relatively low level of work, restricted range of subjects and largely unreceptive audience offered a monotonous diet for the Army schoolmaster.

The adult school: education for promotion

As the records show, the early regimental schools were established to provide the soldier with the opportunity to learn to read and write a little and to solve simple arithmetical problems. Some masters did widen the scope of study to include some history, perhaps of the British Empire, and geography, but this would have depended upon the ability of the schoolmaster and also upon the views of his commanding officer. During Gleig's tenure of office as Inspector-General and that of his successor, Lefroy, the educational system became more uniform in the interests of greater efficiency. In 1857 the adult school was divided into five classes according to the students' abilities and prescribed syllabuses laid down, as outlined at Appendix

H.² At this time, the course of study even at the lowest levels included subjects other than the three Rs, and it is probable that schoolmasters continued to widen the curriculum according to local circumstances, as they had in the past. For example, in the years prior to the Crimean War, Lieutenant-Colonel T Unett of the 19th Regiment had laid down specific educational requirements for promotion up to corporal which concentrated upon the three Rs; if a corporal sought further promotion he would, in addition, have to demonstrate a knowledge of history, geography or any other subject in which he might have been instructed in the school.³ When in 1860 the authorities introduced Army certificates of education, and particularly after 1870 when these became mandatory for promotion, the curriculum became dependent upon the content of the examination rather than on any other considerations; indeed, most soldiers and NCOs attended school with the sole purpose of preparing themselves for the particular examination which they needed to pass in order to become eligible for promotion to the next rank.

The Council of Military Education had introduced Army certificates of education in 1860, partly as a means of easily ascertaining the educational standard of each regiment, and also to act as an incentive for commanding officers to improve the educational level of their men and thus improve the latter's chances of promotion.⁴ At the same time, the Council encouraged commanding officers to form 'special classes' in which the keener and more able students concentrated their studies over a period of six to nine months. No special subjects were taught, the main purpose of the classes being rather to provide regular and systematic instruction, and for this reason the men were excused most duties.⁵ There can be no doubt that the Council was right to take these initiatives, for some units were unable to perform their duties properly due to a lack of educated men. The School of Musketry at Hythe had found that only 44 recruits were qualified for the corps of instructors out of 121 candidates in 1856-57; the Inspector-General of Musketry attributed this to deficiencies in writing and arithmetic with standards falling far short of those required. At Parkhurst none of the candidates for

the post of provost-sergeant, which required a knowledge of accounts, was up to standard.⁶

There were three classes of certificate under the new scheme, as shown at Appendix I.⁷ The curriculum for the third or lowest class of certificate comprised the three Rs; for the second class, geography was added. It was not until the soldier studied for his first class certificate that the curriculum widened appreciably, to include history, geography and general subjects. In 1865 the first class certificate was revised and the curriculum extended still further to include subjects of a professional nature in response to pressure from the Royal Engineers. Under the new regulations, candidates studied the three basic subjects, including book-keeping and savings accounts and, in addition, selected two optional subjects from the following: English history, general geography, algebra, mensuration, trigonometry, geometry, fortification, drawing, surveying and chemistry.⁸ But for all except the most advanced, the curriculum remained essentially the three Rs. Although nearly 10,000 certificates had been awarded by 1870, over half were at the third class level which did not extend beyond the basic subjects.⁹ Nevertheless, the introduction of certificates of education appears to have led to improved standards of literacy during the decade when the Council of Military Education was responsible for Army schools, as reflected at Appendix J.¹⁰

The Council's reports throughout the 1860s show a steady improvement in the level of literacy acquired by the soldier. For example, between 1858 and 1868, 'the proportion of soldiers who can neither read, nor write or at best can read without being able to write' had been reduced by a half, and the number with a 'superior education' doubled.¹¹ These statistics, however, need to be treated with some caution. They can be misleading for they were compiled by education authorities no doubt anxious to present as favourable a picture as possible. They are also limiting in that they do not tell us, for example, what a 'superior education' was, or what constituted 'being able to read and write'. The military writer, A R Skelley, has interpreted the latter to

mean an ability to read and write 'a little'.¹² If this was so, in 1870 only about 6% of the rank and file had anything even approaching what was in fact an elementary level of education, although this varied between the different arms of the Service.¹³

One of the reasons for such slow progress was the lack of compulsory attendance. This was an issue that assumed increasing importance under the Council of Military Education although it was by no means a new one; since the early years of the nineteenth century it had been a highly controversial and even litigious matter.¹⁴ In succeeding years this ruling, that soldiers could not be compelled to attend school, was widely ignored and indeed in 1849 the Duke of Wellington, the Commander-in-Chief, instructed that all recruits were to attend school for at least two hours daily 'until dismissed drill'.¹⁵ Only eight years later, in 1857, this was overturned as it was deemed to be illegal as well as too time-consuming for the recruit. Instead, a General Order of 19th June 1857 recommended to all commanding officers that soldiers should be 'encouraged' to attend school once their initial training was completed. Two years later, a clause was inserted into the Articles of War rendering it an offence for any soldier to refuse to attend school parade. In 1861, however, a further order explained, as if to reassure commanding officers, that the particular Article in question did not oblige them to order all soldiers to attend school.¹⁶ In other words, attendance for all adult soldiers was at the discretion of the commanding officer and this unpredictable state of affairs hindered the work of Army schoolmasters.

In his report of 1859, Lefroy had pointed out that irregularity of attendance meant that an indefinite period of time had to be spent on the most 'elementary and mechanical part of his duty', and both the master and soldier became discouraged through lack of progress.¹⁷ Poor attendance was universal. Colonel F F Maude, local inspector in Gibraltar, reported that average attendance for each adult was two to three times a month. Similarly, Colonel R C Romer in Malta reported that weekly

attendance of men in some regiments averaged about two hours, whilst in others it amounted to less than half an hour, that is ten minutes for each of the three Rs.¹⁸ Although the abolition of fees¹⁹, the introduction of certificates of Army education and special classes might have encouraged some to attend school, they appear not to have influenced the majority of soldiers. This was largely because many commanding officers remained unconvinced of the need for their men to obtain the appropriate education certificate before being eligible for promotion. Indeed, the ambivalent attitude to the value of such certificates was reflected in the decision of the Duke of Cambridge, the Commander-in-Chief, to leave commanding officers free 'to adopt them, or not, at their discretion'.²⁰

The possession of a certificate might or might not be advantageous to the man seeking promotion. In some regiments it was absolutely essential for promotion; in others it was modified or a regimental examination was set. Sometimes a commanding officer believed educational qualifications to be irrelevant, arguing that they could not compensate for other qualities necessary in the management of soldiers and the maintenance of discipline.²¹ As Colonel F R Elrington, the Commanding Officer of the Rifle Brigade, expressed it, one could not make a good NCO by putting him through a series of educational tests: the art of governing people in the ranks was not to be learnt in school.²² The Royal Commission on Military Education in 1870 took a different view, firmly believing that in peacetime an NCO could not perform his duties adequately without some knowledge of the three Rs and, on its recommendation, the third and second class certificates became prerequisites for promotion to corporal and sergeant respectively. The examinations for each class of certificate were now standardized and the 'regimental' certificates discontinued, with the general Army certificates of education alone being recognized as the necessary qualifications for promotion. These requirements were to remain essentially unchanged for the remainder of the period under review, except that by 1890 the first class certificate had become necessary for promotion to warrant officer and all NCOs had to attend school until they had acquired their second class certificate.²³

For the Army schoolmaster this usually meant very large classes of men studying for their second and third class certificates. Army Schoolmaster R J Cameron, who had been posted to Aldershot in 1898, remembered having huge classes of adult soldiers working towards their second class certificates, the possession of which exempted them from further attendance. Although a small minority, with a view to further promotion, continued their education, the vast majority were only too pleased to be free from schooling.²⁴ Schoolmaster W R Leaver, whilst serving at Chatham, had such large numbers attending that he had to resort to setting a preliminary examination with only the best being coached for their certificate. The remainder were given to the soldier assistants to prepare them for the next preliminary examination.²⁵

With the exception of the first class, the requirements for all the certificates of Army education continued to concentrate upon the basic subjects, as shown at Appendix K,²⁶ although with a military bias. Hence, a soldier sitting for his first class certificate was required to write an official letter, perhaps to his commanding officer, whilst at the second class level in arithmetic the military candidate was tested on regimental accounts, such as the daily messing and monthly pay accounts.²⁷ But as far as the Director-General of Military Education was concerned, the standard demanded was very low, except at the first class level. It was generally accepted that the third class certificate equated roughly to Standard III only of the civilian elementary school, and the second class to Standard V, the latter illustrated at Appendix L.²⁸ Yet despite the low standard it took many NCOs long periods in school to prepare for their second class. The Director-General attributed this not only to the attitude of some commanding officers and their reluctance to allow men to be released for study,²⁹ but also to the men themselves. Most were at best indifferent to education which was not helped by the monotonous and rigid curriculum, and also by inappropriate reading material, for few soldiers would have taken kindly to using textbooks that had been written for children.

Lefroy had drawn attention to this in his report of 1859, where he pointed out that whilst the adult might not be able to read he did possess 'a latent fund of experience and information' which the child did not. It was, therefore, absurd to tell the soldier that 'a table has four legs, or a man has two arms'; and yet this was typical of the information contained in the 'Second Book to Teach me to Read', which was to be found in Army schools.³⁰ Nevertheless, the use of childish material continued, and as late as the 1890s the Standard III Reader for children of nine years of age was still used to provide dictation exercises for the soldier's third class certificate of education.³¹

Looking back on the subjects to be studied, Army Schoolmaster Leaver had every sympathy with the NCO who had to obtain his second or third class certificate. Leaver believed that 'the lack of anything humanizing' in the curriculum contributed in no small way to the general hostility to education and that the pre-occupation with military terminology must have been 'extremely boring'. Gaining the necessary certificate was 'a relief rather than an attainment'.³² In contrast, he believed the first class certificate to be of a considerably higher standard than the second, 'a leap into other regions'. From the schoolmaster's point of view, the smaller class with keener students and more stimulating subject matter must have come as a welcome relief from the lower levels of instruction.

In 1888 when the first class certificate became mandatory for promotion to warrant officer, the syllabus was substantially revised, as shown at Appendix M.³³ The examinations in writing to dictation and arithmetic were retained; reading, as a separate subject, was dropped; an exercise in copying manuscript introduced³⁴ and, instead of selecting one, additional 'extra' subject, all candidates were tested in history and geography. It is reasonable to assume that the omission of reading reflected the fact that standards proved satisfactory,³⁵ whilst the introduction of copying manuscript no doubt reflected the need for sound clerical work from senior NCOs throughout the Army and not just in the orderly room where it had long been recognized as

essential. As far as the study of history and geography were concerned, they were made mandatory at the first class level because it was rightly believed that senior NCOs should know where the Army was serving and why, as well as contributing to their general education. In subsequent years further changes were made to the first class certificate. As outlined at Appendix N, by 1906 composition had replaced the mechanical exercise of copying manuscript, and map reading had also been introduced, its vital importance to the soldier being obvious.³⁶ NCOs who had successfully completed their first class certificate could, if they wished, sit examinations in one or more optional subjects which, by 1911, included Pitman's shorthand, typing, book-keeping and modern languages, European and Oriental.³⁷ The number of NCOs opting for these subjects is not known but they would have been small given the number of men in possession of the first class certificate. In 1896, for example, only 4,305 such certificates were held, compared with 45,588 and 31,004 for the second and third classes respectively.³⁸ On the eve of the First World War, formal educational provision for the majority of soldiers did not go beyond the three Rs.

Given the educational standard of most soldiers on enlistment, the ability to write a simple letter to a parent or friend, to write down from dictation an extract from regimental orders, to work the four simple and compound rules of arithmetic and understand a simple messing account, which was demanded of the third class certificate of education, was no mean achievement. Certainly few in a position of authority denied the importance of such levels of literacy and numeracy amongst its junior NCOs. Increasingly, however, commanding officers were also expecting a greater degree of initiative and self-reliance from their NCOs, qualities long recognized as important by a few of the more forward-looking of the Army's leaders. Yet, the formalized syllabuses and the rigid regulations, which included such detail as the suitable minimum number of words and sentences for an essay in the examination for the second class certificate, did not sit easily alongside the requirement for soldiers 'to be taught to think ... and to act for themselves', as was laid down in the Drill Book of 1892.³⁹

The Boer War, like the Crimean campaign earlier, had exposed serious deficiencies within the Army, one of which was the almost total absence of initiative, as contemporary observation showed. 'If there is no word of command he [the soldier] does nothing at all; if all his officers are killed or wounded he is helpless'.⁴⁰ Schoolmaster Leaver fully endorsed this view. Although he believed that one of the aims of education was 'to teach the pupil to teach himself' this was seldom achieved, for most men in the Army in his day were 'helpless' and 'expected the schoolmaster to do so much for them'.⁴¹ Perhaps this was the inevitable result of an education scheme that put a premium on repetition, rote-learning and routine exercises of formalized syllabuses.⁴²

By concentrating on a purely functional curriculum and excluding non-utilitarian studies, at least for the overwhelming majority of soldiers, the Army also lagged behind the latest developments in civilian education, where the need for a broad curriculum in adult education was increasingly recognized. A Board of Education Report in 1905-6 reflected the contemporary thrust of civilian opinion in adult education circles when it noted, with much satisfaction, the increasing attention being paid to such subjects as literature, art, history and natural science, which had no direct utilitarian bearing.⁴³

Such a philosophy had little impact on those responsible for the formal curriculum to be studied within the Army. It should be noted, however, that the Army did make some provision for soldiers to become at least acquainted with subjects outside those laid down in the formal syllabuses of education, through the study of optional subjects, its library service and programme of informal talks or lectures, as will be discussed in Chapter 7. But, more importantly, it has to be remembered that the Army certificates of education were linked directly to training and to those skills which the authorities considered it necessary for a soldier or NCO to possess in order to carry out his duties effectively. All of this had to be undertaken primarily in duty hours, although undoubtedly many men found that they had to

devote some of their own time to study if they were to be successful. Whilst for much of the nineteenth century the soldier's hours 'on parade' were minimal, by its close this was no longer the case; advances in technology necessitated more time being devoted to training and this, coupled with short service enlistment, meant that time was at a premium. Nowhere was this to become more apparent than in the education of the recruit.

Education of the recruit

The question of re-introducing compulsory recruit education, which had been abolished in 1857,⁴⁴ had been addressed by the Royal Commission of 1870. Listening to the evidence of a number of witnesses, the Commissioners heard the views expressed that, on the one hand, the recruit under basic training had no time left for educational work and, on the other, that training and education could be conducted side by side and that, at such a young age, the soldier would be more receptive to education. After considering the evidence, the Commissioners concluded that it was preferable for schooling to begin as soon as the soldier joined the Army,⁴⁵ and on their recommendation recruit education once more was made compulsory.⁴⁶ A minimum of five hours a week was to be set aside for schooling, to ensure that he was up to the requisite standard by the time that he had completed his basic training. This was to be tested by a new certificate, the fourth class, which was significantly lower than the third class and which required the soldier to read and copy an easy narrative and to do very simple arithmetical problems.

For the schoolmaster, the return to compulsory education for the recruit must have been a mixed blessing. Whilst, on the one hand, some knowledge of the basic subjects would make the acquisition of the higher certificates that much easier, on the other hand, the influx of recruits into the schoolroom often meant that it was very overcrowded, and in some instances the numbers on the roll were more than could be accommodated. At the same time, there was growing concern at the standard of the fourth class certificate itself, with Colonel A C Gleig, Inspector of Army Schools, being one of its earliest critics. He

believed that the requirements of the fourth class were so low as to be almost meaningless. The level equated to Standard II in the state elementary schools which children of eight years of age were expected to pass. As Gleig perceived, its introduction encouraged men to go no further and to delude themselves into believing that they had attained a fair standard of education. He wanted this certificate abolished and attendance enforced until the third class certificate was obtained.⁴⁷ These views were echoed by many Army schoolmasters and inspectors during the decade following its introduction. Major G A Jacob, Inspector of Army Schools in Bombay, described the degree of education indicated by the fourth class certificate as 'inappreciable'. At the same time he noted that, according to Queen's Regulations, the possession of that certificate relieved its holder from compulsory attendance at school 'under the superstition that he is able to read, write and keep his own accounts, the last of which he most certainly cannot do'.⁴⁸

In the Army as a whole there was also growing support for simply abolishing the lower class of certificate and making attendance voluntary once more. It was not that the value of education was denied. The Adjutant-General, General G Wolseley, recognized the benefits of education to both the Army and the individual. The more highly a man is educated, he declared, the better soldier he is.⁴⁹ It was rather a question of re-assessing priorities in the light of recent Army reforms. As part of the wider reforming programme of Edward Cardwell, Secretary of State for War, the short service soldier had made his appearance in 1870.⁵⁰ With men, henceforth, serving as little as three years with the Colours, the time spent in training had to be kept to a minimum, and the schoolmaster found himself competing with the training sergeant for the recruits' time. As the Adjutant-General explained, training time had to be used to maximum advantage and that did not include the fourth class. He strongly supported voluntary attendance which should be encouraged but believed compulsory education to be an unrealistic option.⁵¹

As already discussed in Chapter 5, the Harris Committee, to which the Adjutant-General gave evidence, was concerned at the high proportion of men, over 40%, who did not obtain their fourth

class certificate.⁵² It concluded that, regrettably, the schoolmaster was wasting much of his time teaching pupils who could not or would not learn. Many pupils, it said, simply sat in the class, looking upon school as a 'disagreeable drill', and merely waited for the statutory six months to pass.⁵³ The Committee considered this to be a waste of public money. On the recommendations of the Harris Report, compulsory education ended and the fourth class certificate was abolished.⁵⁴ It was not until the years immediately before the First World War that recruits were once more required to attend school during the first six months of their service or until they had obtained a third class certificate.⁵⁵ Indeed, during the last decades of the nineteenth century the main effort of Army education and hence the schoolmaster, was directed towards the NCO and boy soldiers.

Education of the boy soldier

As already discussed in Chapter 1, young soldiers had long been required to attend the regimental schools.⁵⁶ Within a year of the reforms of 1812, whereby regular schooling became the lot of the enlisted boy, authority was given for infantry regiments to enlist boys, up to a maximum of 50 for each battalion. These boys were to attend school regularly in order to fit them for non-commissioned officer rank.⁵⁷ Many were drummers and band boys attached to line regiments, although the cavalry gained apprentice armourers, farriers and saddlers, and they all usually attended school with the adult soldiers in the afternoon.

Throughout the nineteenth century much attention was paid to their education. Facing recurrent recruiting difficulties within the adult Army it was hoped that many of these young soldiers would enter adult service and attain non-commissioned rank. Education was regarded as an investment in the future. Unlike the adult recruit, these young soldiers were not constrained by lack of time, or at least not to the same extent, and so the Royal Commission on Military Education (1870) recommended that they spend longer on education than the recruit and that they be required to attend school until they had obtained their second

class certificate of education.⁵⁸ This practice already prevailed in many regiments, but in 1871 it became mandatory for all.⁵⁹

These standards were certainly high in comparison with those demanded of their adult counterparts. For example, although the second class certificate of education had been a prerequisite for promotion to sergeant in the adult Army since 1870, it was not until the late 1880s that it became mandatory for all NCOs to attend school until they had reached that level, that is, some 20 years after the same requirement was demanded of the boy soldier. By 1906, all boys had to remain at school until they had completed their first class certificate,⁶⁰ whereas in the adult Army this was only demanded of those aspiring to warrant officer status. To prepare for these examinations, the young entrant attended school for no less than five hours a week and each period was to last not less than an hour and a quarter. Not surprisingly, this was resented by many of them, especially the older ones. As Schoolmaster A L Collison recalled, since they knew that exemption could only be gained by obtaining a first class certificate, serious out-of-school study was required even for the best of them and that spoilt their evening leisure.⁶¹

Many of these boy soldiers would have been brought up at one of the two military boarding schools or educated in one of the Army's regimental or garrison schools. As discussed in Chapter 1,⁶² one of the reasons why the military authorities attached so much importance to its children's schools was because they believed that they would produce disciplined and well-educated recruits.⁶³ It is not surprising, therefore, to find that a large proportion of the schoolmaster's day was devoted to instruction in the children's school. Army Schoolmaster E Morris, for example, estimated that he spent 25 hours a week instructing the elder children, in contrast to approximately 11 hours with the soldiers and enlisted boys.⁶⁴

The grown children's school

It had long been the custom for the schoolmaster to teach both adults and children at different times of the day, and although

it was usual for the children to be taught during the morning and early afternoon and the soldiers later in the day, this was very much a matter for the commanding officer according to local circumstances. In 1850 there was a reorganization of the children's schools which rationalized the system and broadened the scope of provision. Like the educational reforms of 1846, this too can be largely attributed to Gleig as Inspector-General of Army Schools and can be regarded as a continuation of the reforming process.

In addition to the grown children's schools, two new types of school were introduced: the infant school and the industrial school, both under the 'sole charge' of the schoolmistress.⁶⁵ Instruction in the infant school took place from 9 to 12 o'clock daily in a room set apart from the ordinary schoolroom. The children of both sexes were instructed in reading and writing, and when able to read words of two syllables they moved up to the grown children's school where they received further instruction from the schoolmaster or his assistant. In the afternoon, from 2 to 4pm, the schoolmistress held a school of industrial instruction, which was not a separate establishment but the name given to the afternoons' activities which included sewing and knitting.⁶⁶ All the girls attended and the younger boys if their parents wished, the older boys remaining in the grown children's school for further study with the schoolmaster.⁶⁷ Later in the century, in the late 1880s, the small regimental schools for the older children and adults were replaced wherever possible by larger garrison schools. The grown children's schools were redesignated 'elder children's schools' and where there was a sufficient number of children, separate boys' and girls' schools were established for the older children. The infant and industrial schools remained regimental establishments, the latter now known as 'sewing' schools.⁶⁸ These adjustments apart, the system of schooling introduced in 1850 remained broadly unchanged for the remainder of the period under review.

The curriculum in the children's schools during the first half of the nineteenth century had extended little beyond the three Rs,

religious instruction and needlework for the girls and younger boys, with some schools probably including a little history and geography. During the 1850s, following the reorganization of children's schools, the curriculum in the grown children's schools included, in addition to the three basic subjects, religious instruction and needlework, history, geography, natural history, object lessons and grammar and, in some schools, music.⁶⁹ In 1857, as in the adult schools, the children's schools were divided into classes and prescribed syllabuses laid down, as shown at Appendix O.⁷⁰ The curriculum was not an extensive one and excluded industrial training, long recommended by Gleig, and subsequently by the Lefroy Report of 1859 and that of the Royal Commission into Military Education in 1870. Both reports had pointed out that facilities existed within the Army for pupils to learn a number of trades, and yet so little had been done to foster them.⁷¹ Nevertheless, when the Royal Commission into Elementary Education published its report in 1861, it commented very favourably upon the Army's schools.⁷² Indeed, during the 1860s, the curriculum in the grown children's schools of the Army was probably wider than that of the majority of civilian elementary schools.

Army schools were spared the system of 'payment by results', under which government grants became largely dependent upon achievements in the three Rs, the natural consequence of which was the neglect of other subjects. Interestingly, some soldiers would have preferred their children to follow a slightly narrower course of study. Echoing the sentiments of the Newcastle Commission of 1861, some complained that 'reading, writing and figures' were being neglected in favour of such subjects as history and geography.⁷³ The Council of Military Education believed otherwise, as did the Royal Commission into Military Education in 1870, which concluded that Army schools provided a 'sound and useful elementary education', and compared very favourably with civilian schools of a 'similar class'. As the Commissioners observed, one of the reasons for this satisfactory state of affairs was that attendance at school was compulsory in many units.⁷⁴

In the 1860s, reports by Army schoolmasters showed that this was the most important factor in explaining the satisfactory standards attained in the children's schools, just as its absence for the adult at that time contributed to his relative lack of progress. Between 1857 and 1870 enrolment nearly doubled, to 20,000 children, the majority being between five and 12 years of age with a few rising to 15. As the Army establishment actually fell in the 1860s, the most likely explanation for the rise in the number of children attending school was the enforcement of attendance. Parents could send their children to other schools if they wished, but in practice few did and then usually on religious grounds. As the Lefroy Report noted, the 'convenience, trifling fee and sound instruction' made the Army schools very attractive and was sufficient inducement for parents to use them. Should any parent neglect his child's education and he or she become a nuisance or be left idle, the commanding officer could withdraw 'the indulgences allowed to the well-conducted married soldier'.⁷⁵ According to the Lefroy Report there appeared to be only a few such cases.

In view of subsequent reports by the Council of Military Education and the Director-General of Military Education, Lefroy had perhaps under-estimated the problem of irregular attendance. In 1865, for example, the Council had attributed the anomalies in levels of attainment in the children's schools to the indifference of some commanding officers to regular attendance. In some regiments, 'unscrupulous' parents kept their children away from school for financial gain without censure from the unit.⁷⁶ Some 30 years later, some parents, 'who knew no better', still kept their children at home on wash days.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, it is probably fair to say that the most disruptive factor in children's schooling was the frequent movement of regiments both at home and overseas, rather than parental negligence. Even so, on long voyages on board troopships, classes were held whenever possible. On board the Dilawar, bound for Bombay from Portsmouth in 1865, classes were held daily, except for one solitary occasion brought about by rough seas. With the assistance of two soldier assistants and a monitress,

Schoolmaster and Mistress Walters maintained schools for both adults and children which differed little from provision on land.⁷⁸ Overall, the difficulties of attendance of Army children at school appear to have been relatively small in comparison with their contemporaries in civilian life.

In an attempt to encourage parents to send their children to school regularly, the Royal Commission of 1870 recommended that school fees be abolished. At the time they amounted to 2d a month for one child; 1½d for each child if two of the same family attended, and 1d a child if three or more of the same family benefited. These fees were collected on a monthly basis and so, as the Commissioners recognized, if a child missed schooling for the first part of the month there was every incentive to keep him away for the remainder. They noted that the collection of fees involved a considerable degree of administrative work, which was disproportionate to the total amount realized, a mere £1,400 a year. They saw no reason why a soldier should feel 'any sense of dependence or pauperism' in availing himself of one of the 'natural advantages' of his military service. Finally, they pointed out that as free education had, by this time, been granted to the soldier, it was inconsistent as well as undesirable to deny it to his children.⁷⁹

The recommendation of the Royal Commission was accepted and in 1871 fees were abolished in children's schools, some 20 years ahead of most civilian elementary schools.⁸⁰ In Army schools the abolition of fees not only mitigated any problems of compulsory attendance but also no doubt helped the authorities to insist upon children staying on longer at school. In 1882 it was laid down that attendance was obligatory for all children between the ages of four and 14.⁸¹ Six years later the upper age limit was revised to read 'fourteen or until Standard VII had been passed' thus making it possible for some to leave before 14 if they had completed the highest standard whilst at the same time enabling others, over 14, to remain at school until their schooling was complete.⁸²

By this time, civilian children were only required to attend from five to ten years of age, for exemptions were provided from ten

to 13 on grounds of efficiency or good attendance. During the 1890s, the minimum school leaving age in civilian schools rose first to 11 and then 12, and in 1900 it became permissible for pupils to be kept at school until the age of 14. But whatever the legal reality, it was only gradually that society became conditioned to accept this view. In contrast, not only did the Army lay down high age limits, which could only be circumvented by a good level of attainment, but it was easier under its hierarchical system to enforce attendance.

These developments placed Army schools in a very favourable position compared with their civilian counterparts and undoubtedly contributed significantly to the standards attained in Army schools, as reports in the early years of the twentieth century showed. For example, in 1906, an Inter-Departmental Committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Portsmouth at the War Office, submitted its report on Army schools.⁸³ Members of the Committee, who included representatives from the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department, and inspectors from both, were asked to assess the standard of Army children's schools in comparison with civilian ones. They visited 12 garrisons across the country from Dover to Edinburgh and were unanimous in their belief that, in general, the Army's schools were up to a good standard of efficiency. Significantly, however, they added that the curriculum was narrower than that of civilian schools and that some important subjects were omitted altogether. Two years earlier, in 1904, a Committee under the chairmanship of Colonel H Bowles, Assistant Adjutant-General of Army Schools, had not only drawn attention to the narrowness of the curriculum but also to the lack of adequate resources.⁸⁴ Overall, it appeared that Army schools were falling behind the larger Board schools which showed marked improvements in the curriculum and facilities offered.

In the decades following the introduction of the Revised Code of 1862 and the system of payments by results, the civilian curriculum was gradually expanded and new 'class' and 'specific' subjects introduced.⁸⁵ Similarly, Army schools tried to introduce

greater flexibility into the curriculum and by the early 1880s they were beginning to follow more closely developments in civilian elementary education, as Army School Regulations for 1882 show. By this time the grown children were organized into 'standards', including Standard VII, as under the civilian Code for that year.⁸⁶ In addition to the three elementary subjects and needlework for girls, the regulations show that 'class' subjects were also taught. These comprised English grammar, geography and English history, and were open to children who had passed Standard III.⁸⁷ Over the next 30 years the list of class subjects gradually widened. Army School Regulations, 1891, show that recitation and singing were included and, like the other class subjects, were taught in all standards.⁸⁸ By the end of the century, physical drill had been added⁸⁹ and by 1906, the laws of health had also found a place in the curriculum.⁹⁰

Perhaps concerned that the children of soldiers might follow in their father's footsteps, teachers were to stress the importance of temperance. Whilst they were to omit death statistics, they were to point to the 'laws of God' and to the irreligious dimension of intemperance and, on a more practical note, to impress upon children that they did not require alcohol and that it should not be touched 'except on the rare occasions when it is prescribed by a doctor'.⁹¹ Teachers were also to foster the children's health by ensuring that the school was well ventilated. Windows were to be 'opened freely' for an hour before school and during school hours at the discretion of the teacher. Healthy postures were to be insisted upon at all times 'in the interests of physical development and for the preservation of sight',⁹² and to help ensure the latter eye tests were introduced in 1911.⁹³

In spite of a widening curriculum, the actual range of subjects offered to Army children remained narrower than those offered to some of their civilian counterparts. For example, it was not until 1909-10 that drawing, elementary science and domestic economy were introduced as class subjects in Army schools.⁹⁴ In contrast, drawing had been made compulsory for boys in

civilian schools in the early 1890s, and domestic subjects for girls and elementary science were being allocated increasing amounts of time. By this time, successive codes had also widened the range of specific subjects, although in practice they never attracted more than a tiny proportion of children. The number of Army children taking specific subjects would also have been small since they were only available to pupils at the top of the school, and their choice of subjects was very limited. Army School Regulations, 1882, show that pupils ⁹⁵ in Standard VII could select one specific subject: algebra, Euclid or mensuration.⁹⁶ Although pupils in Standard VI were soon to become eligible too, there was no expansion in the number of subjects during the remainder of the period under review.⁹⁷ As the Director-General of Military Education pointed out in his report of 1893, most of the subjects authorized by the Code, such as chemistry, physics, botany, French, German and Latin, could not be 'conveniently taught' in Army schools.⁹⁸

Those compiling the Bowles Report in 1904 would have liked to recommend the introduction of drawing and science teaching, but felt unable to do so on grounds of cost.⁹⁹ There was, however, a much more fundamental reason why the wide choice of subjects offered in civilian schools was simply not possible within the Army, as the Director-General of Military Education explained in 1893

It is evident that the elastic system by which the Code allows to managers of civil schools a wide choice of subjects, is only possible in schools where both masters and scholars are stationary, and where the bulk of the civil population not being migratory, many children pass the whole of their school life in the same school. But in Army Schools in which, owing to the exigencies of the service, both teachers and scholars are frequently moved from one school to another, such a system would not be suitable and would prove costly. The course in all Army Schools at home, in India and in the Colonies must be uniform so as to enable the education of the children to continue on the same lines and in one progressive course, no matter which Army School they may for a time attend.¹⁰⁰

The attitude of the Army schoolmasters to such a rigid system was an ambivalent one, as their memoirs show. No doubt they would have welcomed greater freedom of subject choice both from the children's point of view and their own. As Army Schoolmaster A L Collison observed, the teaching of literature in particular suffered from standardization for it was difficult to inspire a class with a love or liking for a poem which he himself disliked. He noted, for example, how in his first year at Aldershot in the early years of the twentieth century, he had to teach Shelley's 'Cloud' which he admired without liking, and Herbert's 'My Mother's Picture', which he 'cordially detested'.¹⁰¹ Yet Collison recognized the advantages of a uniform curriculum

Each child in every Army school throughout the Empire had an arithmetic book and three readers, literary, geographical and historical, appropriate to his standard. And these were chosen not by the headmaster but by the War Office. This ensured that when Sergeant Brown was posted from Aldershot to Jubbulpore or Jamaica or Hong Kong or Malta his son in standard IV would be able to enter standard IV in his new station and use the same textbooks. Moreover, the last individual examination result of Jimmy Brown at Aldershot travelled with him to his new station for the information of his new headmaster, whose curriculum was identical to the smallest detail with that used in Aldershot.¹⁰²

Such a system provided the 'nearest possible equivalent to continuous education in one school'. It also provided an opportunity for soldiers' children to travel and see much of the world which, Leaver argued, provided a most valuable contribution to the 'delocalization of the mind, perhaps the most desirable end of the education process'.¹⁰³ Writing many years later in the post-1945 era, Colonel A C T White endorsed these sentiments. He argued that in spite of the social, emotional and educational problems facing the Army child as he moved from school to school across the world, the effects were not entirely negative. His travels, and high standard of living in favourable climates, together with opportunities for sport, gave him a confidence and fluency of expression which forcibly struck the teacher fresh from home. But, he continued, it was perhaps in the progress of

the grammar-school candidate that the effect of turbulence was greatest, for it was here that continuous application to a given syllabus was most necessary, and this could be upset by variations between schools.¹⁰⁴ Although writing of a different generation, White's views were equally applicable to Army children of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for it was at this time that the question of post-elementary education began to arise and was to become the most intractable of all issues surrounding the education of Army children in subsequent decades.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century the military authorities recognized that an increasing number of Army children were staying on at school and requiring more advanced instruction. The introduction of Standard VII was an indication of this. Such demand would always be small given the size of most Army schools which were, for the most part, scattered in small numbers throughout the world. But in order not to deprive the more able pupil of a more advanced education, soldiers at home were permitted to send their children, at their own expense, to civilian schools to receive a 'higher elementary education', provided that commanding officers were satisfied that the school in question offered a superior education to that obtained in a military establishment.¹⁰⁵ In addition, Army children could compete for scholarships to 'middle or higher class schools'. Since, however, Army schools were not deemed to be public elementary schools, Army children were only admitted on payment of the full fee, and this was not a realistic option for most soldiers.¹⁰⁶ The Army Schools Act of 1891,¹⁰⁷ in defining Army schools as public elementary schools, overcame this particular problem but, even so, few took advantage of it. Only at Woolwich were the benefits fully appreciated, with 11 boys and three girls obtaining scholarships during 1894 and 1895.¹⁰⁸

By 1890 it was accepted that there were some for whom the Army elementary schools did not provide an appropriate or acceptable education. But the exceptions were few in number and the Army schools continued to provide a sound education which catered for the vast majority of soldiers' children. The 1902 Education Act, however, in empowering the newly-created Local Education

Authorities to provide for education 'other than elementary', and the consequent establishment of secondary schools, finally left Army schools behind, even though they continued to make provision for the brighter children in special classes at the top of the elementary school, the equivalent of the 'higher tops' of civilian schools. Perhaps inevitably the Army turned increasingly to the possibility of sending its children to civilian schools, at least at home. In many respects this seemed the obvious solution and, indeed, had been increasingly countenanced since the 1880s.

Whilst there was no suggestion that Army schools overseas should close, for there was no adequate alternative, the rapidly expanding civilian elementary school system in the United Kingdom at this time did make the closure of Army schools there a more realistic option. The first report to consider this was the Harris Report of 1887,¹⁰⁹ but in the end it did not recommend taking advantage of the civilian system for a number of reasons. Harris was convinced that the existence of Army schools was appreciated by the married men and these schools tended to encourage in the children's minds the feeling of belonging to the Army, which was important for retention and recruitment. The report also recognized that the influx of children from the Army would be, in many instances, unpalatable to both the civil authorities who would have to enlarge existing provision and to the ratepayers who would have to fund it. Instead, it recommended, as already mentioned,¹¹⁰ that the small regimental grown children's schools be replaced by larger garrison establishments, a proposal that was accepted. Although the report justified this on educational grounds, namely that the children's minds would be broadened by bringing them into contact with children of all arms of the Service, the real motive for the change appeared to be financial. Indeed, from the 1880s, the question of costs dominated all official inquiries into Army schools.

Some idea of the prevailing mood of the time can be gauged from the terms of reference of the two committees already referred to: the Bowles Committee of 1904 and the Portsmouth Committee of

1906. The former had been directed to consider the system of instruction in Army schools and to see how it could be improved, although any recommendations that it made were not to involve 'any but slight additional expenditure'¹¹¹, whilst the latter considered 'whether economical or other reasons demand any reduction in the number of garrison schools in the United Kingdom'.¹¹² The Portsmouth Committee recognized the advantages of retaining the Army's own schools for children: the isolation of many garrisons; the difficulties over continuity of education and the probable disruption to civilian schools. On the other hand, it was not unaware of the advantages, educational and financial, that might accrue from the transfer of Army children to civilian schools. What finally tipped the balance in favour of the retention of Army schools was the continuing need to provide for the education of the soldier which could not be met by the local authorities because of the specialized nature of instruction. If Army schools had to be maintained for soldiers they might just as well provide for their children too, for the savings involved in closing the children's school would be minimal. The Committee did recommend, however, that if a civilian school was available, no staff should be retained to teach the children alone, and the general aim should be to abolish all infant schools which naturally catered exclusively for children.¹¹³ In pursuance of these recommendations the Army Council directed that those Army children's schools, and especially the sewing and infant schools, should be closed in areas where suitable civilian elementary schools existed.¹¹⁴

By 1910, 48 schools had been closed, by which time the implications of the gradual reduction in the numbers of Army schoolmistresses, resulting from this action, had become all too clear. If the trend continued there would simply be an insufficient number of mistresses for the relief of their colleagues overseas. At this juncture a strong representation was made by His Majesty's Chief Inspector, Mr P A Barnett, to the Board of Education, protesting against the further closure of Army schools. Their closing from the outset had been very unpopular with the soldiers and so, on receipt of Mr Barnett's

report, the Army Council recommended that the closing of Army schools should be discontinued, in which course the Treasury concurred.¹¹⁵ Some, indeed, soon re-opened. In 1913 Treasury authority was obtained to re-open the elder girls' and infants' schools at Windsor, Regent's Park, Chelsea and Caterham on the grounds that the particularly frequent moves of the Household Troops created a need for special educational provision for their children.¹¹⁶ After the First World War, further reports continued to recommend the handing over of all the Army's schools at home to the Local Education Authorities, but the general consensus of opinion was that there would be little overall saving to the taxpayer, although the military budget would be reduced. Hence, Army children continued to use garrison schools at home, although those of secondary school age increasingly attended civilian schools in the United Kingdom, or remained as 'tops' in the elementary schools abroad.¹¹⁷

Conclusion

Army children's schools continued to make steady progress in the early years of the twentieth century, notwithstanding the limitations imposed upon them by the parsimonious attitude of the Treasury; the difficulty of providing a wide range of subjects, given the size of the majority of the Army's schools, and the need for uniformity in the curriculum. If no longer at the forefront of elementary education as before they continued to provide a sound education for the Army's children which still compared favourably with many civilian schools, albeit only at the elementary level. Achievements in the adult schools were less marked. Standards did rise but the curriculum remained essentially narrow, utilitarian and closely tied to examinations for promotion, although this perhaps was understandable in view of the fact that Army education was undertaken to support military training rather than to foster the soldier's individual educational interests.

Writing in 1921 on the pre-War education scheme, Lord Gorell¹¹⁸ acknowledged that the standards laid down for the Army

certificates of education had risen but that, nevertheless, they lagged behind the more progressive ideas in the field of civilian education.¹¹⁹ He attributed this to the narrow background of the Army schoolmaster who had often known no other environment than the military one throughout his life. But, in addition, two other considerations acted as a constraint on new educational ideas in the Army. The first was the increasing tendency to place the control and direction of Army education, at the highest level, in the hands of professional soldiers rather than educators. Secondly, there emerged a highly organized system of inspection. Whilst intended to maintain proper standards of work, it also acted as a constraint upon the expansion of the curriculum, for the schoolmaster concentrated his attention upon those subjects which were to be examined.

Before turning to consider these issues in Chapter 8, one should remember that much education takes place outside of formal institutions. In the nineteenth century Army and before, a small number of enterprising soldiers set out to educate themselves on a self-help basis, whilst many more benefited from the growth of various informal kinds of educational activities such as libraries, recreation rooms and illustrated talks. Although most of the Army schoolmaster's working day was devoted to classroom work, he did much to foster and support these developments which assumed an increasing importance as the nineteenth century progressed.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 6

1. See Chapter 1, pp.18-25, for an account of the reasons for the development of the regimental schools and their aims.
2. Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army, and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms, 1859 (hereafter referred to as The Lefroy Report), pp.11-13. See Appendix H.
3. Ibid., p.31.
4. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, p.vi.
5. In the 26th Cameronians, for example, two special classes were formed, and Lieutenant-Colonel S Henning, the Commanding Officer, was most satisfied with the results; the friendly competition that developed amongst NCOs encouraged them to use their free time to some advantage as well as providing a pool of educated men from which he could select his senior ranks. 5th Report by the C.M.E., 1868, P.P.,XXII, 1868-9, pp. xviii-xx. See also 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xii.
6. The Lefroy Report, 1859, pp. 29-30.
7. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, pp.vi-vii. See Appendix I.
8. 3rd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XLIV, 1866, Circular letter dated 1 May 1865, pp.xiii-xiv. On the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Military Education in 1870, the number of extra subjects was reduced from two to one to allow greater study in depth. See 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XIV, 1870, Minutes of Evidence, Qs.222 & 320.
9. 6th Report by the C.M.E., 1870, P.P., XXV, 1870, p.xii.
10. The Lefroy Report, 1859, p.6 & 6th Report by the C.M.E., 1870, P.P., XXV, 1870, p.viii. See Appendix J.

11. 6th Report by the C.M.E., 1870, P.P., XXV, 1870, p.ix.
12. Skelley A R, The Victorian Army at Home. The Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular, 1859-99 (1977), pp.87 & 90.
13. See Chapter 5, pp.148-149.
14. See Chapter 1, p.31.
15. The Lefroy Report, 1859, pp. 9-10 & 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, p.iv.
16. The Lefroy Report, 1859, p.10 & 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, pp.iv - v.
17. The Lefroy Report, 1859, p.9.
18. 4th Report by the C.M.E., 1866, P.P., XLIV, 1866, pp. xii - xiv.
19. Fees had been 1d a week for private soldiers & 2d for sergeants. In 1860 fees for the third class certificate were abolished, and the remainder by 1865. Fees had come to be seen as a tax on progress and yet the sums raised were not great, averaging £2,000-£3,000 per annum between 1854-57.
20. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, p.vi.
21. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xvi.
22. Ibid., Minutes of Evidence, p.34.
23. 4th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1889, P.P., XVII, 1889, p.15.
24. Cameron R J, 'Life of an Army Schoolmaster as seen through my Experiences, 1889-1920'. RAEC Archives. Cameron's education and training are described in Chapter 4, pp.117-118.

25. Leaver W R, 'Reminiscences of W R Leaver, 1898-1919'. Undated. RAEC Archives.
26. Army School Regulations, 1882, para.104. See Appendix K.
27. Blackman W, 'Reminiscences of the Retired', in Journal of the Army Educational Corps, vol.XX, no.3, September 1946, pp.101-105, at p.104. RAEC Archives.
28. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, p.7. See Appendix L.
29. 6th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1896, P.P., XVIII, 1896, p.9.
30. The Lefroy Report, 1859, pp.32-33. This difficulty was to persist for the next 100 years. See Cummins A J E, 'An Historical Survey of Illiteracy in the Army', in Journal of the Royal Army Educational Corps, vol.XXVI, no.2, September 1952, pp.80-86, at p.84.
31. 6th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1896, P.P., XVIII, 1896, p.10.
32. Leaver, op.cit. RAEC Archives.
33. Army School Regulations, 1888, para.104. See Appendix M.
34. Copying manuscript involved making a fair copy of a rough draft. Ibid., loc.cit.
35. It is less easy to explain the omission of reading from the examination for the second class certificate at this time, and from the third class by 1897. No explanation is given in the regulations. It could have been that the standard of reading at these lower levels was considered to be adequate, although the evidence does not support this. Army School Regulations, 1888, para.104 & Army School Regulations, 1897, para.145.
36. Army School Regulations, 1906, Section V, para.136. By this time, composition had been introduced at all three levels of examination, indicating a slightly more imaginative approach to study. See Appendix N.

37. Although the Army made arrangements for men to sit these examinations, they had to prepare for them themselves and pay any fees. Army School Regulations, 1906, para. 142 & Army School Regulations, 1911, para. 142.
38. 6th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1896, P.P., XVIII, 1896, p.11.
39. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, pp. 6-7.
40. Sir R Rankin, A Subaltern's Letters to His Wife (1901), quoted here in Smith P M, The Development of Army Education Schemes for Soldiers in the British Army: A Comparative Study (M. Ed. thesis, Bath, 1978).
41. Leaver, op cit. RAEC Archives.
42. See White A C T, 'A Note on the History of Army Education', in Journal of the Army Educational Corps, vol. XVII, no.4, June 1942, pp.133-139.
43. Report of the Board of Education, 1905-6, Section C, 'Technical Schools, Schools of Art etc', p.76.
44. See p.163 of this chapter.
45. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, pp.xv-xvi.
46. 1st Report by the D.G.M.E., 1872, P.P., XIV, 1872, Appendix 1, no.3.
47. 2nd Report by the D.G.M.E., 1874, P.P., XII, 1874, Appendix II, no.1. pp. 14 & 23.
48. 3rd Report by the D.G.M.E., 1877, P.P., XXX, 1877, Appendix II, no.13, p.102.
49. Report of the Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, 1887, Minutes of Evidence, p.75.
50. See Chapter 5, pp.139-140.

51. Report of the Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, 1887, Minutes of Evidence, pp.75-76.
52. See Chapter 5, p.149.
53. By 1887, recruits were no longer required to attend school beyond their first six months, whether they had acquired their fourth class certificate or not. Report of the Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, 1887, p.v.
54. 4th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1889, P.P., XVII, 1889, pp. 3-4.
55. White A C T, The Story of Army Education, 1643-1963 (1963), p.41. Although Army School Regulations, 1911, para.52, noted that the educational level of the recruit was assessed on enlistment, there was no provision for compulsory education at this time. See Chapter 5, p.150.
56. Chapter 1, pp.30-31.
57. Circular, Recruiting Department, Horse Guards, 25 February 1813. MOD Library.
58. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xv.
59. Revision of Queen's Regulations applicable to Army Schools, in 1st Report by the D.G.M.E., 1872, P.P., XIV, 1872, Appendix 1, no.3, para. 453.
60. Army School Regulations, 1906, para. 46.
61. Collison A L, 'Extracts from Memoirs of an Army Schoolmaster, 1904-27', submitted by Mrs A L Collison on behalf of her husband (deceased). Undated. RAEC Archives.
62. See Chapter 1, pp.24-25.
63. This view was substantiated by the authorities. Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting, 1875, P.P., XV, 1875, p.2 & Report of the Royal Commission on Recruiting for the Army, 1867, P.P., XV, 1867, p.xi.

64. See Ruthven W J, 'Memoirs of an Army Schoolmaster', c.1920. RAEC Archives.
65. The first Army schoolmistresses were officially appointed by a Royal Warrant, 29 October 1840. Appointment of Army Schoolmistresses. MOD Library. In the previous year, the commanding officer of the Cape Mounted Rifle Corps had requested a schoolmistress to teach the female children who numbered 213, instead of the second Army schoolmaster who was on the unit's establishment. His request won the support of the Commander-in-Chief and also Thomas Macaulay, the Secretary-at-War (PRO WO 43/752. Horse Guards to Secretary-at-War, 14 January 1840, f.171 & Treasury to Secretary-at-War, 13 February 1840, f.172). In the House of Commons Macaulay requested, successfully, that a sum be allocated to enable a schoolmistress, the wife of a soldier, to be appointed to instruct the female children in reading, writing, needlework, morality and religion (Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Army Estimates, 9 March 1840, vol.LII, col.1,091).
66. Royal Warrant, 30 March 1850. Reorganization of Children's Schools & 'Regulations to be observed in regard to the instruction of children in Garrison and Regimental schools, to which a trained schoolmaster has been, or may hereafter be, appointed by the Secretary-at-War'. MOD Library.
67. During the 1880s the older girls also attended the elder children's school for part of the afternoon.
68. Report of the Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, 1887, p.v & Army School Regulations, 1888, paras.1 & 62.
69. Gleig G R, 'National Education', in Edinburgh Review, vol.XCV, no.194, April 1852, pp.332-333.
70. The Lefroy Report, 1859, pp.34-36. See Appendix O.
71. Ibid., pp.36-37 & 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xi. Perhaps

this was not at all surprising given the Army's attitude to vocational training. See Chapter 5, pp.141-142.

72. Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England, 1861 (popularly referred to as The Newcastle Report), Part IV, State Schools, p.415. The Commissioners did not actually visit any Army schools, basing their findings on The Lefroy Report, 1859. The Newcastle Commission also looked at educational provision in the Navy which it found markedly inferior to that of the Army. This it attributed to a number of factors: the lack of interest by the Admiralty and by ships' captains; the difficulties of attendance and, above all, the poor quality of the schoolmasters. The latter had received little education and were 'utterly unqualified to teach'. The Newcastle Report, Part IV, pp.428-431. The report drew attention to earlier reports by The Revd J Woolley, HMI. In his opinion, the schoolmasters were 'utterly untrained' and thus, 'quite at a loss' as to how to set about the task before them. He went on, 'there need be, certainly, very little fear entertained of Jack getting too much learning and becoming a "sea lawyer"'. 'General Report for the Year 1859, by Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, the Rev Joseph Woolley LLD, on the Royal Dockyard Schools, Royal Marines' Schools, and on other Schools under the Board of Admiralty', in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1859-60, pp.492-512, at p.508.
73. 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, Appendix 1, Memorandum by the CME, July 1861, p.14.
74. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.ix.
75. The Lefroy Report, 1859, pp.34-35.
76. 3rd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XLIV, 1866, p.xvii.
77. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, pp.14-15.

78. 4th Report by the C.M.E., 1866, P.P., XLIV, 1866, Appendix XLL, no.2.
79. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.x.
80. Royal Warrant, 30 August 1871. Allowances of Sub-Inspectors, Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses. MOD Library.
81. Army School Regulations, 1882, para.33.
82. Army School Regulations, 1888, para.21.
83. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Army Schools, 1906 (under the chairmanship of the Earl of Portsmouth, hereafter referred to as The Portsmouth Report).
84. Report of the Committee on Army Schools, 1904 (under the chairmanship of Colonel H Bowles, AAG, Army Schools, hereafter referred to as The Bowles Report), p.4.
85. In 1867 extra grants were extended to schools that included at least one 'specific' subject, such as history, geography and grammar, in addition to the three Rs. This list was extended in 1871 to include, for example, the natural sciences, languages and political economy, and in 1876 English literature was introduced. These were limited to pupils in Standards IV to VI. In 1875 'class' subjects were added. These consisted of grammar, geography, history and plain needlework, and which, unlike the other two categories, were based on the proficiency of the whole class and not individuals. 'Class' subjects were taught above Standard I with no more than two subjects being taught.
86. Army School Regulations, 1882, Appendix III. The exact date when 'standards', 'class' and 'specific' subjects were introduced into Army schools is not known, but must have been after 1877, for there is no mention of them in the 3rd Report by the D.G.M.E., 1877, P.P., XXX, 1877. It seems

probable that they were, in fact, introduced in 1882, Army School Regulations being published then to include these changes.

87. Army School Regulations, 1882, para. 161.
88. Army School Regulations, 1891, Appendix 1.
89. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1899, Appendix 1.
90. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1906, Appendix 1.
91. Ibid., para. 143.
92. Ibid., para.6.
93. Army School Regulations, 1911, para.22a.
94. At least one hour a week was to be devoted to drawing and 35 minutes to science. The schoolmistress was to instruct the girls in Standards VI & VII in domestic economy, giving them two half-hour lessons a week. Report on Army Schools, 1910 (under the chairmanship of C F N Macready, Director of Personal Services, hereafter referred to as The Macready Report), p.4 & Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1910, paras.144-145.
95. The regulations state that 'pupils' be allowed to take 'specific' subjects, but in 1893 only boys were eligible. See Army School Regulations, 1882, para.161 & 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, p.11.
96. Army School Regulations, 1882, para.161.
97. Indeed, by 1909, geometry alone remained as an 'optional' subject for boys in the higher standards. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1909, Appendix 1.
98. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, p.11.

99. The Bowles Report, 1904, p.4.
100. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, p.11.
101. Collison, op.cit. RAEC Archives.
102. Ibid., loc.cit.
103. Leaver, op.cit. RAEC Archives.
104. White, op.cit., p.221.
105. Queen's Regulations, 1889, Section IX, Part II, para.91.
106. Only at Canterbury were scholarships available on the same terms for Army and civilian children alike, and here Army children did well, two out of the six scholarships being awarded to boys from the local Army school in the first year of the scheme. Carson T, Sub-Inspector of Army Schools, Woolwich District, to DGME, 4 February 1887. RAEC Archives.
107. Army Schools Act 1891. An Act to extend to Army Schools the benefit of certain Educational Endowments, in Army School Regulations, 1897, at Appendix III.
108. 6th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1896, P.P., XVIII, 1896, p.13.
109. Report of the Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, 1887, pp.iv-v.
110. See p.173 of this chapter.
111. The Bowles Report, 1904, p.2.
112. The Portsmouth Report, 1906, pp.2-3. Annual expenditure on Army schools totalled £78,000: £61,000 in the United Kingdom and £17,000 in the Colonies. Of the £61,000, £42,500 was spent on the adult and grown children's schools and £18,500 on the infant schools.
113. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

114. The Macready Report, 1910, pp.6-7.
115. Ibid., p.7.
116. PRO WO 32/6961. WO Minutes. Re-opening of Elder Girls' and Infants' Schools at Windsor, Chelsea, Regent's Park and Caterham. Treasury to Secretary of State for War, 19 February 1913. Lieutenant H Hussey, Inspector of Army Schools, observed that Army children returning from civilian to Army schools were both academically and socially disadvantaged. He attributed these trends to a number of factors: large civilian classes; the lack of a standard curriculum and the less disciplined environment of civilian schools. Ibid., Special Report on Army Schools, London District, 26 September 1912.
117. Although the Army reorganized its schools in accordance with the recommendations of the Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on the Education of the Adolescent (The Hadow Report), 1926, senior schools could only be provided at large garrisons, and so most secondary-age pupils at home attended civilian schools.
118. Lord Gorell was to play a major role in the revitalization of Army education during the First World War. See Chapter 10 and, in particular, p.327, footnote 13.
119. Colonel Lord Gorell, Education and the Army, An Essay in Reconstruction (1921), p.201.

CHAPTER 7: INFORMAL EDUCATION

The need for informal education

In addition to his formal responsibilities in the schoolroom the Army schoolmaster was actively involved in a variety of regimental activities, particularly those of an educational nature, such as giving illustrated lectures or talks; organizing concerts and theatrical performances and overseeing the garrison library and regimental reading and recreation rooms. All of these activities assumed increasing importance as the nineteenth century progressed and formed part of a concerted effort by the military authorities to make the barracks and life within them more congenial to the soldier, to overcome the problem of boredom and thus reduce the temptation to resort daily to the canteen or, worse still, to seek amusement outside. Beyond the barracks, away from official control, men often made nuisances of themselves, got into trouble and brought the Army into disrepute. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that these initiatives to increase educational and recreational activities stemmed as much from the authorities' concern to combat drunkenness and ill-discipline as from any educational motive.

Drunkenness was a recurrent problem in the Victorian Army, as it was with the class from which the majority of the Army's recruits were drawn, and it was widely regarded as a root cause of much crime as well as ill-health. Not only was it a crime within the Army, but it also contributed to other military offences such as insubordination, absence without leave and desertion, particularly after pay-days which were usually characterized by excessive drinking. The Army's traditional response to military offences was corporal punishment, although as the nineteenth century progressed this became less severe with strict limits placed upon its use. Not only was corporal punishment widely regarded as dehumanizing, but it was also seen as having an adverse effect upon recruitment, whilst being largely ineffective as a deterrent to crime. Consequently, increasing use was made of its obvious alternative, imprisonment, with the tendency towards shorter sentences which was consistent with the general trend towards lighter punishments.

At the same time there was a growing realization that imprisonment could help to reform the offender, by improving him physically and mentally and enabling him to carry on his military training. In 1895, a committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Monkswell, had reported on how time spent in prison could best be utilized, and on its recommendations more time was devoted to drill, physical exercises, sport and educational activities.¹ Subsequently, schools were established in over 20 military prisons worldwide, including one at Colchester which still exists to this day. As in all Army schools, the men worked towards their Army certificates of education, although in prison reading was added. Inspectors of Army schools were responsible for inspecting and examining these schools and for appointing suitable instructors from the prison staff, whilst prison governors were enjoined to do all they could to foster and support such educational work.²

But important as it was to ensure that a prisoner's time was used constructively, the Army's primary aim was to reduce the number of offenders in the first place, and many in the Army and outside came to believe that prevention might be a more successful strategy than deterrence or retribution. If, as many concluded, it was the lack of recreational opportunities and the profitable use of the soldier's free time that was at the heart of the problem of drunkenness and crime, the answer was not, as Gleig pointed out, to place a gin shop in every military station and then imprison or otherwise punish the men for consuming too much liquor. Instead, the answer lay in the provision of constructive pastimes in decent surroundings which would, inter alia, make them less inclined to frequent the canteen or local public house.³

In coming to such a conclusion the authorities were mindful of the type of man who filled the rank and file of the nineteenth century Army and the life that he led, as already discussed in Chapter 5. Wherever he was stationed, once in the Army a man was condemned to an idle and degrading life. While others laboured for 12 or more hours a day, the soldier was usually free after drill and fatigues for the rest of the day until evening parade,

unless detailed for rifle practice or guard duty.⁴ Little wonder that it was believed that 'no living individual suffers more than he from ennui'.⁵ Nor was it surprising that he spent most of his free time in the canteens and drinking dens, seeking light and warmth and endeavouring to escape his boredom in drunken oblivion. As one veteran has written

what else was there for the soldier to do but drink? ... he had a good deal of spare time and practically nothing to do with it, and not being a particularly imaginative fellow, he spent most of his time in the canteen. Drunkenness was rather the fault of the authorities, who provided no alternative recreation for the Tommy in those days.⁶

If he had been a 'more imaginative fellow' he might have found pastimes on his own, but few had the ability or initiative to do so. One person who did possess these qualities was William Cobbett who enlisted in the late eighteenth century Army. Posted initially to the military depot at Chatham, Cobbett found that he had a great deal of time to himself, and this he put to excellent use. Having had almost no schooling he set about the task of 'learning grammar', in spite of a rowdy billet

The edge of my berth, or that of the guard-bed, was my seat to study in; my knapsack was my book-case; a bit of board lying on my lap was my writing table ... I had no money to purchase candle or oil; in winter time it was rarely that I could get any evening-light but that of the fire, and only my turn even of that ... To buy a pen or a sheet of paper I was compelled to forego some portion of food, though in a state of half-starvation! I had no moment of time that I could call my own; and I had to read and to write amidst the talking, laughing, singing, whistling and brawling of at least half a score of the most thoughtless of men, and that too in their hours of freedom from all control.⁷

Not content with his labours to master grammar, Cobbett joined a circulating library at Brompton and read more than once the books it contained. Such enterprise was rare; the majority of soldiers simply resorted to the canteen once their duties were over, and it was this problem that had to be addressed. For many reformers, including Gleig, this meant not only a complete reform of the canteen system, but also the expansion of informal educa-

tional activities in which the Army schoolmaster would have a key role to play. Gleig hoped that one day the schoolmaster would give talks on popular subjects to the men in their newly-designed regimental clubs, and he ventured to prophesy that if this was the case, the prisons and barrack cells would be 'marvellously thinned'.⁸

Reforms: social and sporting

Under pressure from reformers, who included sections of the press and Members of Parliament, as well as members of official bodies looking into the living conditions of the soldier,⁹ reforms were introduced in these and other areas. But, as in so many aspects of military and indeed civilian life, official action often followed individual enterprise, and in the Army this usually emanated from the commanding officer. One such man was Sir Charles Gordon who, in 1828, became Commanding Officer of the 42nd Regiment, later the Black Watch.¹⁰ His first act on joining his regiment in Gibraltar was as unpopular an action as a new commanding officer could take - he cancelled the top bibulous event of the year, the sergeants' Waterloo Ball. Drunkenness was abhorrent to Gordon. In his view, it was encouraged partly by the example of the sergeants, and partly by tradition, that is, pressure on young lads to spend their pay 'like soldiers'; but above all else, men drank because they were bored.

The merit of his reforms was that they attempted to deal with the causes of drinking. He not only cancelled the sergeants' jamboree and curtailed the hours of the regimental 'wet' canteen which normally sold spirits throughout the day, but he tried to get permission for off-duty men to visit Spain and he also started a regimental library. The library was opened in 1830 and within a few years there were 224 subscribers who each paid six days' wages to join. Quite apart from the pleasure it gave, the library literally saved lives by giving men some other recreation than drinking, and for the next quarter of a century the number of deaths in the Regiment from disease was less than a quarter of what would normally have been expected.

This two-pronged attack by Colonel Gordon on the causes of ill-discipline - to occupy usefully the men's free time and reduce the availability of alcohol - was slowly taken up by the authorities. Arguably, the most effective method of combating excessive drinking was to abolish the 'wet' canteen but, like Colonel Gordon, the authorities argued that as men would drink anyway it was preferable that they did so within the barracks, where some control could be exercised. Having accepted the canteen as a necessary evil, measures were taken to reform canteen administration¹¹ and also, under pressure from the Army Medical Department and the Regimental Temperance Societies, to ban spirits.¹² In order to persuade the soldier not to spend all of his pay in the canteen, some commanding officers set up regimental savings banks which carried an additional advantage of providing the soldier with a lump sum on discharge or making provision for his widow and orphans. In 1843 a centralized savings bank with regimental branches was established,¹³ but the scheme never attracted as many depositors as the authorities hoped.¹⁴ At the same time regimental clubs, combining recreation and library facilities, were established inside the barracks whilst outside, philanthropists made similar provision in the form of soldiers' 'Homes'.

Soldiers' homes or institutes were quite distinct from the regimental clubs. Some were secular, others religious in origin, but all were established largely through private enterprise and were thus under independent control, although government sometimes contributed to the erection of the buildings.¹⁵ The hey-day of the secular institutes appears to have been in the decade following the Crimean War. By 1870 only two survived, one at Chatham for the Royal Engineers and the other for the Brigade of Guards in London. Their decline can be attributed to the greater popularity of the regimental recreation rooms,¹⁶ which were more accessible and permitted men to dress as they pleased, whereas outside of the barracks they were required to wear uniform.¹⁷ Religious homes or missions¹⁸ also played a part in raising the standard of behaviour in the Army, although it is difficult to assess their overall impact. Whilst undoubtedly

serving a genuine social purpose, it is probably fair to suggest that, given their proselytizing and prohibition of drink, their influence was restricted to a few. As the Royal Commission into Military Education in 1870 concluded, however laudable their objectives, they were too specialized to admit or attract more than a limited number of men.¹⁹ In contrast regimental activities, especially sport, had wide appeal throughout the Army.

In 1836 the Royal Commission on Military Punishments had recommended that games such as fives courts, rackets, cricket and football be encouraged ²⁰ and, following pressure on the Secretary-at-War by Lord Hill,²¹ the Commander-in-Chief, cricket pitches were soon established in the United Kingdom. But it was football and boxing that attracted most support amongst the rank and file, at least at home, the former being encouraged because it helped to foster team spirit and the latter because it was deemed appropriate for the fighting soldier.²² In India and the colonies it is probably fair to assume that cricket was more popular. It was certainly the main sport of the 55th (Westmorland) Regiment stationed in India from 1863-69, although field and track events were also supported.²³ Like the 42nd Highland Regiment, the 55th was also an interesting example of what some regiments provided for their men. As well as the more practical activities, which included the free issue of seeds and implements for gardening, it established its own library; ran a savings bank, which attracted 460 depositors, and organized theatrical presentations to relieve boredom, all of which were a great success.

Mr P Mills was the regiment's schoolmaster at this time and he undoubtedly participated in some of these activities. It was almost certainly he who marked the essays submitted in the annual essay competition. Although the savings bank would have been run by the paymaster, Mills' arithmetic lessons in school with the soldiers no doubt contributed towards the success of the scheme by enabling the men to understand how it worked as well as the benefits it afforded. Although there is no direct evidence that this schoolmaster gave illustrated talks to the soldiers, it is

very likely that he did, for of all the activities watched over by the schoolmaster it was this one which engaged most of his attention, at least during the winter months.

Lectures and illustrated talks

Lectures and illustrated talks first came into their own after the Crimean War. They covered a wide range of subjects and were normally held on winter evenings at the larger stations, attendance being voluntary. Like the Army libraries and recreation rooms, they were intended to be yet another way of improving the moral and intellectual tone of the Army, as the Newcastle Commission explained

These lectures act, to a certain extent, as an antidote to the evils with which a soldier's life is beset. They withdraw men from the canteen and from sensual indulgences; they give them a taste for better things, and impart to them a desire of attending the school in order to improve themselves, and to secure the means of acquiring more knowledge.²⁴

Commanding officers gave them their full support, in contrast to more formal schoolwork where their attitude was sometimes one of indifference. Some even attended the lectures themselves. The officer commanding the 2nd Battalion Grenadier Guards listened to a number of lectures given in Dublin by Army Schoolmaster J Barnes and was clearly impressed by the latter's ability to retain the interest of the men; indeed, he could think of no better way of instructing and amusing them or drawing them away from demoralizing pursuits.²⁵ Perhaps, however, the most convincing testimony to the success of these activities came from the comments of the soldiers themselves. Army Schoolmaster John Grant was serving in Aldershot in the late 1850s and spent many of his evening hours giving lectures to the troops, time he did not begrudge for they were very much appreciated. After listening to one lecture, a sergeant in the Scots Fusilier Guards told Grant that he had 'gone to places in London and heard chemistry mystified, but that he had come to the camp and heard chemistry explained'. Although Grant thought this was a 'foolishly exaggerated compliment', he included it in his annual report

because it illustrated the 'popularity and usefulness' of these lectures.²⁶

The subjects were very wide-ranging, reflecting the interests of the speaker as well as attempting to select topics that would appeal to the men. During the winter season, 1858-9, lectures delivered at Aldershot included ones on Wellington; Napoleon; Army dress from ancient times to the present; gold digging in Australia; Indian history, dress and customs; astronomy; English history and natural history as well as scientific topics. Schoolmaster Grant himself spoke on subjects as diverse as gunpowder, the electric telegraph, thunder and lightning, air and water. Where appropriate, he illustrated his talks with practical experiments, using small supplies of chemicals and other materials.²⁷ In addition, talks were made more attractive through the use of the magic lantern. At home complete sets of slides could be obtained from the Duke of York's Royal Military School. Special arrangements were made for their issue overseas.²⁸

Undoubtedly these efforts to provide a visual dimension to the lectures made them more interesting and probably easier to follow. Indeed, the ability of the speaker to arouse the curiosity and hold the attention of his audience was crucial to the scheme's success, and this depended on the nature of the topic as well as his skills as a lecturer.²⁹ A lecture on field fortification given after a full day's work was unlikely to be well received by the troops in Gibraltar.³⁰ This particular lecture was given by a Royal Engineer and not the Army schoolmaster, but when the Royal Commission of 1870 looked at this subject, it was left with the view that whilst some schoolmasters had a flair for public speaking many did not.³¹ This point was taken up by the Director-General of Military Education who, in his first report in 1872, directed that it was no longer mandatory for schoolmasters to give lectures. He added, however, that it was naturally highly desirable for them to support the instruction and amusement of troops, whether it be through readings, lectures or concerts.³²

Readings and concerts

By this time, readings and concerts had become very popular and they were often organized by the Army schoolmaster. During the winter of 1865-6, for example, 204 readings and 77 concerts were arranged at 36 stations worldwide. The former were usually of a poetic nature, and again sets of slides were available illustrating the works of the more popular authors such as Byron and Scott.³³ Whether or not Schoolmaster R Walters on board Dilawar had access to such visual aids is not known but, according to Major W Mosse, who commanded the troops on board the ship, Walters gave a series of readings, as well as lectures, both of which were highly popular with the men. Using his own books in addition to some provided by the officers, he delivered some 20 readings which were carefully selected to be both amusing and informative.³⁴

Besides readings and organized concerts, some stations had introduced singing and musical interludes during the magic lantern lectures. On one evening the musical entertainment consisted of songs performed by Corporals Jesse and Leney, Bombardier Harbour, and Gunner Edmonstone as well as the school children, whilst the depot band, under Trumpet-Major White, diversified the entertainment still further.³⁵ On another occasion the singing class was made up of children from the regimental school, in which they would have practised their pieces with the schoolmaster or mistress.

This increasing popularity of musical events very much reflected trends in Victorian society, especially during the latter part of the nineteenth century, with the concert hall, music hall, public house and even the street all becoming centres of musical activity. Much of this enthusiasm stemmed from the Victorians', and especially the middle classes', tendency to invest music with an enormous amount of moral significance. The military authorities also regarded musical events as a means of promoting Christianity, temperance, patriotism, strengthening regimental as opposed to family ties and developing the character. Not until the Edwardian era did the notion of 'music for its own sake'

begin to prevail.³⁶ It was to be a similar story in the development of Army libraries, which were also assuming a greater importance in an attempt by the authorities to fill the soldier's free time more usefully, as well as to increase his knowledge and improve his level of literacy. These libraries were often placed under the general supervision of the Army schoolmaster although direct responsibility was vested in a librarian who was often a pensioned NCO. Many of these libraries had their origins in the early decades of the nineteenth century, having evolved in the traditional British way from local efforts which were voluntary and uncoordinated.

Recreation rooms and libraries

Leaving aside Cromwell's issue of tracts to his troops, perhaps the earliest record of a unit library was in 1813 when the Royal Engineers arranged for technical books to be available at regimental level to assist officers and NCOs to keep abreast of technical developments. One of the earliest examples of an individual regiment organizing its own general unit library was in 1825, when the 80th Foot (The Staffordshire Regiment), then stationed in Malta, started a subscription library with its Army schoolmaster acting as librarian. Over 1,000 volumes, embracing history, voyages, travel, religion, biography and novels, were easily packed into specially prepared boxes which were fitted with shelves to act as bookstacks.³⁷ Not all commanding officers, however, were so enthusiastic about increasing reading opportunities.

There were some who feared the introduction of books and other printed material into the barracks because they believed that it would open the floodgates to Chartists, Jacobins and Radicals, and generally make the soldiers dissatisfied with their lot. Even the Duke of York, a supporter of Army education, declared that he would not sanction such 'unnecessary and objectionable' institutions. Nevertheless, he was prepared to accept the issue of religious books supplied from the Chaplain-General's Fund Clericus³⁸ which was begun in the early 1820s, and in 1825 an approved list of 28 such books, intended particularly for the

sick, was officially sanctioned. These 'safe' volumes included such comforting works as Doctor Woodward's Kind Caution to Profane Swearers; Peer's Companion for the Aged and Doctor Assheton's Discourse on a Deathbed Repentance.³⁹ No doubt their moral tone would have won the approval of Cromwell, but their appeal to the soldier was obviously doubtful.

The fear that men might be educated beyond their station in life through wider access to reading material was also encountered by the Mechanics' Institutes at this time, where theological and political works were generally excluded as being dangerously controversial. At Keighley in 1834, for example, the committee stressed the importance of exercising care in the choice of books, in order to refute any charge that it was propagating irreligion or sedition.⁴⁰ Five years later, at Warrington, some books from London were ordered to be defaced or destroyed because they were 'filled with Owenism' and the Monthly Chronicle was discontinued 'on account of it being Party Political'.⁴¹

If during the early decades of the nineteenth century there was some anxiety within Army circles over the potential consequences of introducing the soldier to subversive literature, such concern began to take second place to that of the consequences of him having too much time at his disposal, which could well be misused. It was just such a consideration that led the Treasury in August 1838 to grant £20 to each of 50 of the larger stations and £10 to 100 smaller ones for the purchase of library books.⁴² Justifying this expenditure on libraries, Parliament expressed the view that one of the best ways of abating crime was to fill the leisure hours with 'some light employment or amusement, thereby removing the cause of intemperance, to which men were driven when time hung heavily upon them'.⁴³ It would appear from this that Parliament was more concerned to stamp out drunkenness and unruly behaviour than to further the cause of literacy in the Army. It was also at the forefront of military thought. When official sanction was given for the establishment of general libraries in the main barracks at home and in the Colonies in 1840, it was made clear that their primary purpose was to occupy

the soldier's free time, although it did add that they should also lead to the attainment of useful knowledge.⁴⁴

Specific rules were laid down for the management of these libraries, which were to be under the overall supervision of the senior regimental officer of the station. A 'steady' NCO was to be appointed as librarian, assisted in his duties by the sergeant-schoolmaster of the regiment. All NCOs and men were eligible to join if they were willing to pay the monthly subscription of 1d, although this 'privilege' of membership could be withdrawn for misconduct. A catalogue of books was to be at hand for the perusal of subscribers, all books having been approved by the Secretary-at-War, which was confirmation of the continuing concern to ensure that only suitable books were available.

At the time of the publication of the Lefroy Report in 1859, there were 158 libraries in 140 garrisons, some of the larger garrisons having two libraries. Average expenditure overall amounted to just under £8,000 a year, of which £2,000 was spent on the purchase and repair of books and the remainder on the librarians' salary and pension, uniform and accommodation. In addition, just over £720 was raised through a monthly subscription of 1d for everyone who used the library.⁴⁵ Although the Lefroy Report provides details of the number of subscribers at each station,⁴⁶ it does not tell us the proportion of men who made use of the library. It may be reasonably assumed, however, that the numbers were relatively small,⁴⁷ partly because of the general low level of literacy and partly because of the kind of books selected.

There was certainly no lack of variety of books which were issued to libraries and which were classified under the following headings: reference; biography; naval and military history; voyages and travel; fiction and entertainment; poetry; general literature; zoology, botany and natural history; serious and sacred subjects, and tracts. Yet novels, tales and light periodicals were almost the only books that soldiers appreciated. The writings of Jane Austen, Dickens and Scott were amongst the

most popular, as were certain 'superior' children's books, Chambers' Journal and the Penny Magazine,⁴⁸ but books on travel, military history, except for the historical records of regiments, and 'works of general literature', reposed undisturbed on the shelves. No doubt correctly, the Lefroy Report deduced that the books selected were simply too advanced for the majority of readers; works such as Napier's History of the Peninsular War and Wellington's Dispatches were too solid and too long. Rather more optimistically, the report hoped that the lighter books currently selected would, in due course, infuse a desire for the acquisition of more knowledge and would encourage soldiers to progress to more serious works. This, it noted, had been the case in the libraries of the larger industrial towns.⁴⁹ If there was a hint of complacency in the Lefroy Report, the same could not be said of the report of a committee set up in 1861 to look at garrison libraries and regimental recreation and reading rooms.

The Committee was established at the instigation of Lord Herbert, Secretary of State for War, and it was to make recommendations that would encourage soldiers to use these facilities rather than 'places of evil influence'.⁵⁰ With the Revd G R Gleig, the Chaplain-General, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Lefroy, both former Inspector-Generals of Army Schools, as members of the Committee it is perhaps not surprising that its recommendations were far-reaching. The general thesis of their report was that men would have to be given more positive encouragement to make greater use of the library and recreation rooms, and that the only way to achieve this was to provide books and amusements more appropriate to their abilities and interests. Equally important, as far as the Committee was concerned, was the need to make this environment more congenial to the men for if the rooms were spartan, dull and uninviting, few would wish to use them. It acknowledged that much had already been done in this respect but, it went on, 'the whole tenor of the evidence before us goes to prove that the library and reading room accommodation is by no means sufficient, and that it requires considerable improvement to make it attractive to the men'.⁵¹

The Committee's recommendations, which were accepted by the Secretary of State for War and fully endorsed by the Council of Military Education, were promulgated in a new set of regulations in 1863, which remained essentially unchanged for the remainder of the period.⁵² The general principle was that whilst libraries were garrison institutions, issuing supplies of books to the various regiments of the garrison, the recreation rooms were to be regimentally conducted for the use of men in each of the separate regiments. They were to comprise two or more spacious rooms devoted to reading, writing, playing games, smoking and refreshment and, in essence, were to be soldiers' clubs and focal point of the regiment when the men were off-duty. The Committee advocated the greater provision of games such as bagatelle, chess and quoits, for it accepted that books alone were insufficient to attract men, and as few enjoyed literary amusement or instruction it seemed prudent to introduce harmless games. Gambling, however, was to be strictly forbidden and the Committee also recommended that the games room be separated from the reading room as the noise of bagatelle and skittles distracted those trying to read.

With regard to their organization and management, the Committee believed that the recreation rooms should be self-governing and free from as much restraint as was consistent with military discipline, if they were to be successful. To this end it recommended that regimental committees, each under the direction of a senior NCO, be appointed to manage them, but that they should comprise predominantly private soldiers, elected annually by the subscribers. This would help to ensure that the books, magazines and games chosen reflected the interests of the ordinary soldier although, as always, the final sanction was vested in the commanding officer. A sum of £2-10-0 per annum was to be granted to each troop or company by the Government, from which a minimum of 1/- was to be paid to the garrison library for the purchase of books. To boost available funds, a small subscription was to be raised, as before, ranging from 3d a month for privates to 6d for sergeants.⁵³

When the Royal Commission into Military Education reported on libraries and recreation rooms in 1870, it declared itself generally satisfied, although it acknowledged that the recommendations of 1861 had been only partially implemented. Of the 218 regimental recreation rooms in existence, nearly a half still comprised just one room, and in many instances there was still a lack of suitable furniture and games to meet the growing number of subscribers, the latter by this time comprising about 60% of the troops in these regiments.⁵⁴ One of the most successful libraries and reading rooms at this time was to be found at Canterbury as the following account by The Revd T R Maynard shows.

The garrison ran a flourishing library which contained nearly 2,500 books, arranged under appropriate headings in a catalogue which could be purchased for 2d a copy. Practice had shown that men tended to ask for books that their friends had read and it was hoped that the introduction of the catalogue would encourage wider selection. In addition, each regiment had its own recreation rooms, such as those of the Royal Horse Artillery Depot. These comprised two rooms and a sergeant's quarter. To the left of the entrance was the reading room which was fitted out with tables, chairs and large settees, the windows with curtains and blinds and the walls adorned with maps, pictures and a clock. On one table was placed a filter which was filled daily with fresh water and a swivel knife for cutting tobacco. Another table, covered in baize, was reserved for writing letters and had inkstands and blotting pads as well as free paper. In the book presses were to be found bound volumes of periodicals and also newspapers, which included three daily copies of The Times and Telegraph; weekly copies of the Illustrated News, Illustrated Times, Punch, The United Services Gazette, and a range of periodicals such as Bow Bells, The Christian World and London Journal. To the right of the entrance was the recreation room which offered a variety of games including billiards, bagatelle, backgammon, dominoes, chess and draughts. In addition there was special accommodation for the sergeant responsible for the complex together with a bar for refreshments. So successful were

they that three in five soldiers of the Depot subscribed to them, the cost ranging from 6d per month for sergeants to 3d for gunners; officers paid 1/- but were only allowed to subscribe to the library.⁵⁵

It would be interesting to know if the Army schoolmaster at Canterbury had any formal responsibility for the recreation rooms there. In some garrisons he did. Giving evidence before the Royal Commission into Military Education in 1870, Army Schoolmaster Thomas Carson explained that he had managed the recreation rooms when they had first been introduced into the 59th Regiment and he was firmly of the opinion that they conferred greater benefits on the soldier than any other moral agency.⁵⁶ Perhaps not surprisingly, Schoolmaster Walters, on board Dilawar, was responsible for both the provision of books and games. He organized a lending library from which men could take out both for a limited period, and this proved very popular.⁵⁷ It is reasonable to assume, however, that so far as the majority of schoolmasters were concerned they simply did not have the time to assume any formal responsibilities in this area although, given their professional interest in the education and welfare of the soldier, they would undoubtedly have given them their full encouragement and support.

In comparison with their civilian counterparts, soldiers fared quite well in the provision of libraries. By 1850 there were various town libraries and public libraries, as well as those associated with cultural societies, churches and working men's organizations. There were also circulating libraries. For the most part, however, they were maintained by subscriptions and restricted to the use of subscribers, and although the list of libraries sounds impressive, the total book supply, particularly for the poorer classes, was very inadequate. Free public libraries, even for reference, were very few, and the free public lending library was virtually non-existent. There was, therefore, a good deal of truth in the indictment delivered by George Dawson, a well-known public lecturer, before the Select Committee on Public Libraries in 1849,

The fact is, we give the people in this country an appetite to read, and supply them with nothing. For the last many years in England everybody has been educating the people but they have forgotten to find them any books.⁵⁸

In spite of the Public Libraries Act of 1850, which authorized rate-aid to be spent on library buildings, and further legislation extending this to book provision, progress was slow. In 1869 only 35 authorities had adopted the Act.⁵⁹ In comparison, library facilities in the Army were more extensive, although not free. The military library service continued along similar lines until the First World War when it was expanded substantially to cater for a far larger and more diverse audience, following the introduction of general conscription.⁶⁰

By this time, the idea that a man, whether in uniform or not, might want to read simply for enjoyment, because he liked to, was becoming more widely recognized and accepted. In contrast, throughout the nineteenth century it was the utilitarian motive that prevailed in the provision of educational and recreational activities, at least when considering the mass of the population. As Mary Sturt has pointed out, there was much talk about the way in which education could improve morals, prevent social disturbances and make servants better workers, but hardly anything about the greater happiness that it would bring to the scholar.⁶¹ Such a view was equally applicable to the Army and to almost every aspect of Army life. For example, the Army's attitude to religion and to religious education was essentially an instrumental one. Religious services were valued for their contribution to morale and hence to good order, and church parades helped to keep the rank and file spick and span. The Army was not primarily interested in doctrine and so the main functions of the chaplain were to comfort the sick, bury the dead and keep soldiers under watchful surveillance.⁶² Equally the introduction of libraries and other kinds of informal educational activity were officially encouraged and supported in order to keep bored men occupied and out of trouble.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the crime rate of the Army did decline rapidly and this can be attributed, at

least in part, to the growth of informal recreational and educational activities. But the success of the latter depended very much upon the development of formal education which enabled men to benefit from such provision. As already discussed in Chapter 6, much was done to raise the basic level of education of the soldier by increasingly linking attainment to promotion, by encouraging and sometimes ordering the recruit to attend the regimental school, and also by improving the training of the Army schoolmaster. In addition, there was a need for sound direction at the top as well as more direct supervision and inspection. Indeed, it was the increasingly structured system of control and inspection of Army education that was to explain, in no small part, the expansion of both formal and informal education within the nineteenth century Army.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter 7

1. Report on Military Prisons by the Inspector-General of Military Prisons, 1896, P.P.,XL,1897 & Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Discipline in Military Prisons, 8 May 1899, vol.71, cols.18-21.
2. Detachment Schools in Military Prisons and Hospitals, Army School Regulations, 1906, Appendix VI & Instructions Regarding Military Prison Schools, Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1906, Appendix V.
3. Gleig G R, 'Education and Lodging of the Soldier', in Quarterly Review, vol. 77, no. 154, March 1846, pp.526-563, at p.557.
4. It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that this daily pattern changed significantly. See Chapter 6, pp.168-169.
5. Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Regulations Affecting the Sanitary Conditions of the Army, the Organization of Military Hospitals, and the Treatment of the Sick and Wounded, 1858 (hereafter referred to as The Sanitary Commission Report), P.P.,XVIII, 1857-8, Minutes of Evidence, Q.5,851.
6. Fraser J, Sixty Years in Uniform (1939), p.84.
7. William Cobbett (1762-1825). Essayist, politician and agriculturist. Coming from peasant origins, he spent his early days in the fields and had few opportunities for any education. In 1783 he went to London and became a copying-clerk to an attorney. He then enlisted in a line regiment. At the depot in Chatham he devoted all his leisure time to studying English grammar and the English classics. He soon obtained promotion and during his eight years of service he consistently commanded respect from his senior officers, and was employed by them in keeping

accounts, registers etc. In 1791, Cobbett obtained his discharge with honourable notice. Dictionary of National Biography & Reitzel W, The Progress of a Plough-Boy to a Seat in Parliament as Exemplified in the History of the Life of William Cobbett, Member for Oldham (1933), pp.22-23.

8. Gleig, op.cit., pp.557-558.
9. See, for example, Report from an Official Committee on Barrack Accommodation for the Army, 1855, P.P.,XXXII, 1854-5; The Sanitary Commission Report, 1858, & Report of a Committee on the Present State and on the Improvement of Libraries, Reading Rooms and Day Rooms, 1861 (hereafter referred to as The Report on Libraries, Reading Rooms, and Day Rooms).
10. Linklater E & A, The Black Watch. The History of the Royal Highland Regiment (1977), pp.89-90.
11. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the canteens were let out to private contractors who were licensed to sell beer, wines and spirits. They had no interest in the welfare of the soldier, their sole concern being profit. See PRO WO 43/592, ff.164-167. Lord Howick to Viscount Hill, 17 November 1837, & Hill to Howick, 31 January 1838. In 1863 regimental management was substituted, with profits from the canteen henceforth going to the regiment.
12. A number of commanding officers who had given evidence to the Royal Commission on Military Punishments in 1836 favoured the abolition of spirits in canteens, and in 1848 they were banned in barrack canteens. PRO WO 4/269, p.399. Secretary-at-War to Commanding Officers, 31 August 1848.
13. PRO WO 43/704, ff.1-119. Correspondence on the formal authorization of regimental savings banks, 1838-45.
14. By 1845, there were only 2,000 depositors in the Army. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Army Estimates, 4 April

- 1845, vol. LXXIX, cols.222-223. See also Strachan H, Wellington's Legacy. The Reform of the British Army, 1830-54 (1984), pp.67-68. Strachan suggests that one reason for the slow start made by the savings banks was because soldiers themselves feared that a good rate of deposits would suggest that their pay was too high and could consequently be reduced, whilst the officers dreaded funds being accumulated for a massive drinking bout.
15. The Soldiers' Institute at Chatham, 1861, for example, was funded partly by the War Office and partly by public appeal. Florence Nightingale contributed £75. The Times, 22 November 1861.
 16. See pp.206-213 of this chapter for an account of the Army's recreation rooms and libraries.
 17. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P.,XXIV, 1870, pp.xxvi-xxvii.
 18. One of the first to be opened was at Aldershot in 1862 by Mrs L Daniell, an Army officer's widow. Eventually it comprised a coffee and tea bar; a games room; a reading room; a library; a lecture hall for 500 and sleeping accommodation. See Anderson O, 'The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', in English Historical Review, vol.86, January 1971, pp.46-72, at p.59 & Hanham H J, 'Religion and Nationality in the mid-Victorian Army' in War and Society, Foot M R D (ed),(1973), pp.159-181, at pp.169-170.
 19. Indeed, The Report on Libraries, Reading Rooms, and Day Rooms,1861, believed that all positive religious instruction should be excluded from soldiers' clubs whether in or out of barracks, otherwise the very men these establishments were designed to attract would be kept away. The Report on Libraries, Reading Rooms, and Day Rooms, 1861, p.10 & 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xxvii.

20. Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army, 1836, P.P., XXII, 1836, p.xix.
21. PRO WO 43/591, f.20. Lord Hill, Horse Guards, to Viscount Howick, 5 July 1836.
22. See Skelley A R, The Victorian Army at Home. The Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular, 1859-99 (1977), p.163.
23. An account of Service life in India is given by a soldier, Thomas Vickers of the 55th(Westmorland) Regiment. He had served as a drummer at the Battles of Alma and Inkerman in 1854, and by 1863 had risen to sergeant-major. In 1869 he compiled 'The 55th Regiment. A record of events during six years' service in India, 1863-9'. A summary of this work is in an article entitled '"Keep Your Head Cool - and Your Feet Warm", India in the 1860s - a Sergeant Major's Story', by Lieutenant-Colonel R May, in British Army Review, no.79, April 1985, pp.24-28.
24. Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England, 1861, Part IV, State Schools, p.423.
25. Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms, 1859 (hereafter referred to as The Lefroy Report), p.62.
26. Ibid., p.64. Extract of a letter from Grant, 4 December 1858.
27. Ibid., pp.62-64.
28. Overseas, stations were formed into groups, according to contiguity or line of route. A chest containing five or six sets of slides on different subjects was issued annually from the Duke of York's School to the first station of each group and these were passed on in successive years from one

- station to another in a prescribed order. After use at the last station of the group they were returned to be refitted.
- 3rd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XLIV, 1866, p.xvii;
3rd Report by the D.G.M.E., 1877, P.P., XXX, 1877, p.12
 & 6th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1896, P.P., XVIII, 1896, p.5.
29. The Lefroy Report, 1859, pp.62-64.
 30. 6th Report by the C.M.E., 1870, P.P., XXV, 1870, Appendix 2, no.8, pp.44-45.
 31. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870. p.xxvi.
 32. 1st Report by the D.G.M.E., 1872, P.P., XIV, 1872, p.xix.
 33. 4th Report by the C.M.E., 1866, P.P., XLIV, 1866, pp.xlii - xliii.
 34. Ibid., Appendix XII, no.2.
 35. Ibid., pp. xliii - xliv.
 36. Russell D, 'Popular Musical Culture and Popular Politics in the Yorkshire Textile Districts, 1880-1914', in Leisure in Britain, 1780-1939, Watson J K & Walvin J (ed), (1983), pp.100-116, at p.100.
 37. RAEC Archives and article by Major D McEwan RAEC & Wafer R A , Librarian, Army Central Library, 'The Army Library Service', in The Library Association Record, vol.60, no.2, 1958.
 38. The Fund Clericus had been instituted by the then Chaplain-General, John Owen, to supply soldiers with the Book of Common Prayer and similar tracts.
 39. Hawkins T H & Brimble L J F, Adult Education. The Record of the British Army (1947), pp. 12-13.
 40. Tylecote M, The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire Before 1851 (1957), p.236.

41. Ibid., p.110.
42. The Lefroy Report, 1859, p.51.
43. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Supply, Army Estimates, 22 March 1839, vol.XLVI, col.1,126.
44. General Order, 544, 5 February 1840. Establishment of Libraries in the Army. MOD Library.
45. The Lefroy Report, 1859, p.51.
46. These ranged from just five at Castlebar to 1,519 at Chatham. Ibid., pp.52-53.
47. The Report on Libraries, Reading Rooms, and Day Rooms, 1861, p.7. It described the number of subscribers as 'comparatively small'.
48. These popular periodicals first made their appearance in the 1830s. Chambers' Journal eschewed all abstract and mentally-exacting topics, whilst aiming to be 'instructive'. It included articles on popular science, natural history, literary topics, biographical sketches, historical anecdotes as well as fiction. The Penny Magazine also aimed to be instructive but omitted fiction. Both excluded the controversial subjects of politics and religion, which undoubtedly appealed to the military authorities. See Harrison J F C, Learning and Living 1790-1960. A Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement (1963), pp.28-29.
49. The Lefroy Report, 1859, p.58.
50. The Report on Libraries, Reading Rooms, and Day Rooms, 1861. Instructions to Commission on Libraries, Reading Rooms, Day Rooms etc, W0, 17 February 1861, Preface to Report.
51. Ibid., loc.cit.

52. Regulations for the Garrison Libraries and Regimental Reading Rooms, in the 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, Appendix XV, no.1, 24 March 1865.
53. Ibid., loc.cit.
54. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xxiv.
55. 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, Appendix XV, no.4.
56. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, Minutes of Evidence, pp.87-89.
57. 4th Report by the C.M.E., 1866, P.P., XLIV, 1866, Appendix XLL, no.2.
58. Kelly T, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century (1970), pp.173-177, at p.176.
59. Ibid., loc.cit.
60. For a review of the Army Library Service see Spencer A C, The Army Library Service, Its Development and Roles (M.A. thesis, Bath, 1979).
61. Sturt M, The Education of the People. A History of Primary Education in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century (1967), p.4.
62. Hanham, op.cit., p.159.

CHAPTER 8: THE DIRECTION AND INSPECTION OF ARMY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

During the nineteenth century the mechanisms for directing, administering and inspecting Army schools became increasingly highly structured and complex. At the beginning of the century it would be inappropriate to talk of an education system in a formal sense, but as the number of Army schools and schoolmasters grew in response to demand, and particularly after the establishment of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters in 1846, so there evolved a more formalized structure for the direction of Army schooling. By 1870 Army schools had become integrated into a highly organized system of military education. At the top, overall responsibility rested with a Director-General of Military Education, a staff officer not an educationist, who was responsible for all aspects of Army education, and beneath him there had grown up a sophisticated machinery for the management and inspection of Army schools. Such developments were no doubt beneficial in bringing Army schools more into the mainstream of military education, but the corollary was that they came to be directed by officers who possessed neither detailed educational knowledge nor personal experience of Army schools. As a result, more responsibility fell to the Army school inspector to keep abreast of educational developments and to ensure that standards were maintained. This chapter traces the evolution of a more centralized system of control of Army schools; considers the role of the Army schools' inspectorate and, inter alia, assesses the effect of these developments on the provision of education for the soldier and his child.

Control of Army schools and Army schoolmasters

As discussed in Chapter 1, it was not until the reforms of 1812 that commanding officers were obliged to establish regimental schools and it was they who continued to determine the schools' success or otherwise.¹ It was to formalize this ad hoc system that Wellington, the Commander-in-Chief, brought all of these schools under the control of an Inspector-General of Army Schools in 1846, as described in Chapter 3.² The Revd G R Gleig, the

Chaplain-General, held the post for 11 years before resigning in 1857, partly because of growing personal animosity between Lord Panmure, the Secretary of State for War and himself.³ Gleig's strength of character was well known at the War Office and so when Panmure, a brusque, impatient man, resumed office in 1855, it was perhaps inevitable that there would be altercations. These soon arose over Gleig's status as Inspector-General of Army Schools.

It appears that, on the one hand, Gleig was seeking greater autonomy, while on the other, Panmure was determined to bring as much as possible of the administration of the Army under his direct control and to remove it from the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief at Horse Guards where Gleig worked in his capacity as both Inspector-General of Army Schools and Chaplain-General. To emphasize his point, Panmure thought it prudent to remind Gleig that he was the mere adviser of the Secretary of State for War. Gleig, for his part, was willing to refer questions of policy to higher authority, but he objected to putting every 'trifle' before the Secretary of State. The latter agreed but added, 'the question is not yet settled what are trifles'. He then asked Gleig for a statement on his duties, so that he could decide which matters Gleig could attend to himself and which he could not.⁴

Panmure, however, had already decided that the time had come for the direction of Army schools to be taken out of the hands of the clergy. It was not simply Gleig's claims to greater autonomy that had swayed him, nor even the fact that increasing duties, in connection with the expanding Chaplains' Department, were demanding more and more of Gleig's time.⁵ More fundamentally, the War Office realized that the pioneering days of Army education were over and, henceforth, if progress was to be maintained, it would have to be organized within the improved military administrative machinery which came into being after the Crimean War (1854-55). Indeed, the future direction of soldiers' education at the mid-point of the century has to be put into the wider context of administrative changes which were being

implemented at this time. It has also to be set against the backdrop of growing rivalry for control of military matters between the Secretary of State for War at the War Office and the Commander-in-Chief at Horse Guards. This rivalry extended to education and particularly the education of officers, which was only finally ended with the abolition of the latter's post in 1904.

Until the outbreak of the Crimean War there had been very few reforms in the administration of the Army for half a century. With the long peace which, with little interruption, lasted from Waterloo up to the war with Russia in 1854, economy, or more correctly parsimony, was the order of the day in military matters. In 1837 a Royal Commission had been appointed to report on the administration of the Army, which it found divided between a plethora of different departments.⁶ These departments corresponded among themselves and each threw responsibility on the others until central control could scarcely be located anywhere, with confusion and delay boundless.⁷ But little was done at the time and the system blundered on for 17 more years until the rude experience of the Crimean campaign awoke public feeling to the necessity for administrative reform.

Early in 1855, following mounting criticism in the House of Commons and the press into the conduct of the war, Aberdeen's Government resigned and Lord Palmerston took office.⁸ Lord Panmure was appointed Secretary of State for War, combining the offices of Secretary for War and Secretary-at-War. He attributed the 'lamentable results' in the Crimea to the 'want of proper control by a single Minister of every department of the Army',⁹ and within months sweeping changes were made.¹⁰ Only the Commander-in-Chief's office remained apart from the War Office, retaining its control over command, discipline, appointments to and promotions in the Army. To reinforce his separate identity, he kept his office at Horse Guards. This led to a multiplication of correspondence and also to friction with the War Office,¹¹ which was to become all too apparent over plans to reform the system of officers' education and training, now demanding

increasing attention. Dispatches from Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman had demonstrated the ability and courage of the British soldiers,¹² but grave doubts remained about the competence of their officers.

Even before the outbreak of war, some reformers such as Gleig and Sidney Herbert had recognized the need for a radical improvement in the selection and subsequent education and training of officers. In a series of articles in the Quarterly Review in the 1840s, Gleig in typical forthright manner had constantly pressed for immediate action.¹³ He saw little value in officers attending Sandhurst at all, either as cadets or later at the senior department which was intended to prepare them for appointments on the staff. 'For all they gained of military expertise, young men might just as well have spent their time quite as profitably at Eton or Harrow'. Herbert agreed, albeit in less vociferous fashion. The outbreak of war prevented any reforms in the short-term, but the question of officers' education was not allowed to die, for the press and parliament now began to turn critical attention to the fighting in the Crimea.

Led by William H Russell, war correspondent of The Times, the press was scathing in its criticism of the military administration and the efficiency of the high command and the staff. In a leading article in December 1854, The Times declared that the 'noblest army England ever sent from these shores has been sacrificed to the grossest mismanagement. Incompetence, lethargy, aristocratic hauteur, official indifference, favour, routine, perverseness, and stupidity reign. We say with extreme reluctance - no one sees or hears anything of the Commander-in-Chief'. The staff performed no better. Although the honour and courage of these young gentlemen was not in doubt, they were 'devoid of experience, without much sympathy for the distress of such inferior beings as regimental officers and privates', and treated the gravest affairs with a 'dangerous nonchalance'. In comparison, French officers understood the science of war and took an interest in the conditions of their men. Every Englishman, wrote The Times, should blush to read of

the contrast between our hospital at Scutari and that of the French.¹⁴

The authorities could not ignore such criticisms and, indeed, in the midst of the war set up a select committee to review the work of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst.¹⁵ Its report, published in June 1855, bolstered the case for reform.¹⁶ This report was followed by the appointment of a three-man committee, under the chairmanship of Lieutenant-Colonel W Yolland, to inquire into the scientific requirements of the Army. Its subsequent report, published in January 1857, reiterated the views of the Sandhurst Committee on the need for reform and especially of staff training.¹⁷ Of particular relevance to this study was its recommendation to establish a single authority to oversee all aspects of military education. At that time, the various educational institutions were under the control of separate departments. For example, the Royal Military College at Sandhurst was under the control of the Commander-in-Chief; the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea and the Royal Hibernian Military School in Dublin came under the jurisdiction of the Deputy Secretary-at-War, whilst the regimental schools came within the orbit of the Chaplain-General.¹⁸ Even before the publication of the Yolland Report, Panmure was taking steps to bring about a more centralized system of military education. Unfortunately for him it led immediately to a dispute as to who should control military education: the War Office or Horse Guards.

During 1856 Panmure had 'private and confidential' talks with a young Artillery officer, Lieutenant-Colonel John Lefroy, on his proposals for educational reform.¹⁹ He explained to Lefroy that he wanted to bring the education of the Army more directly under the Secretary of State by establishing a new office of Director-General of Military Education, answerable to the War Office. He hoped to offer that position to Lefroy himself. Both, however, failed to appreciate the opposition that such a proposal would generate in the field of officers' education. The Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cambridge, was certainly unwilling to allow the education of officers to be taken out of his hands and in a memorandum in December 1856 he laid down his

own proposals which included the establishment of a new department directly responsible to him.²⁰ The Duke treated the War Office with disdain, as an inconvenient civil rival and submitted questions direct to the Queen, his aunt. She not only objected to the junior rank of Lefroy and his position as Panmure's adviser but, more fundamentally, was jealous of any attempt to curtail or endanger the Prerogative powers and had no intention of allowing a diminution of the Commander-in-Chief's authority.²¹

The copious exchange of correspondence between the Queen and Panmure during the early part of 1857 reflected the problems being encountered in resolving 'the difficult question of Army education',²² with the Queen anxious that the issue be resolved quickly, before it might be raised in Parliament where 'great mischief might arise'. The impasse between the Crown and the Secretary of State did not arise from the latter's proposal that Lefroy should assume responsibility for the regimental schools of the Army; the Queen would accept that. What she objected to was Panmure's proposal to transfer responsibility for the education of officers from the Commander-in-Chief to the Secretary of State, for this would weaken, if not altogether destroy, the former's authority and influence over his officers.²³ In the end a compromise was agreed. Military education was placed under the Commander-in-Chief, but subject to the overall control of the Secretary of State. This was translated into reality with the formation of the Council of Military Education in 1857. The Duke of Cambridge became its president, with most of its work devolving upon Major-General Duncan Cameron, the vice-president. Lefroy was left with the post of Inspector-General of Army Schools, not Military Education.

The retirement of Gleig as Inspector-General of Army Schools in 1857 and the appointment of Lefroy, a professional soldier, as his successor, heralded the advent of a more secular approach to elementary education and a decline in clerical influence, although this had not been a divisive influence as in the field of civilian education.²⁴ Lefroy, however, only retained his post for three years; in keeping with Panmure's centralizing poli-

cies, Army schools became the responsibility of the Council of Military Education in 1860.²⁵ They were now no longer on the periphery of military education but an integral part of it.

The day-to-day work of the Council was distributed between its members: a small team of officers and one civilian. Colonel E H F Pocklington, for example, was responsible for Army schools and schoolmasters; Colonel E B Hamley for the Royal Military College, Sandhurst as well as libraries and recreation rooms, and Colonel Pocklington and Henry Moseley for the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea.²⁶ These new arrangements were not without their critics, not least Captain, later Colonel, A C Gleig, an assistant inspector of Army schools and, it will be recalled, the nephew of the former Inspector-General of Army Schools. The former argued that these duties could 'only be efficiently performed by an individual devoting his whole attention to them' and that a committee by its very nature could not undertake the essential duties of inspection.²⁷ This view was supported by the Royal Commission into Military Education (1868-70) and on its recommendation ²⁸ the Council was abolished and its functions transferred to the newly created post of Director-General of Military Education within the War Office, illustrated at Appendix P.²⁹ General W C E Napier, a former vice-president of the Council, became the first of eight officers to hold the post in its 28 years' existence. In 1898, the post of Director-General was abolished, apparently in order to make financial savings, with responsibility for the education of officers and soldiers being transferred to the Military Secretary and Adjutant-General respectively.

Major-General C W Wilson, Director-General of Military Education, had opposed this decision on the grounds that it would have a detrimental effect upon the Army: neither the Military Secretary nor the Adjutant-General would be able to give education the attention it deserved, and there was a need for one recognized authority to which all questions connected with military education could be referred.³⁰ The Adjutant-General, however, considered it quite appropriate for the education of soldiers and

their offspring to fall within his sphere as he was responsible for the Army's welfare and morale,³¹ and education contributed to this. Yet it also contributed to the soldier's military efficiency, and so when a new Department of Military Education and Training was established early in 1903, under General Sir H J T Hildyard, the education and training of both the soldier and officer were made his responsibility.³² Such unity was to be short-lived for in the aftermath of the South African War, just as after the Crimean War, there were demands for radical reform in the Army.

This led the Prime Minister, Balfour, to set up the War Office (Reconstitution) Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Esher.³³ On the recommendations of the Esher Report, published in 1904, an Army Council was established to provide a single collective body to decide questions of policy. The post of Commander-in-Chief was abolished and all submissions to the Crown on military topics were to be made through the Secretary of State, final consummation of parliamentary control of the Army. In keeping with the Esher Report's recommendation to organize the War Office on more 'logical principles', soldiers' education and that of their children reverted once more to the Adjutant-General's Department, shown at Appendix Q,³⁴ where it remained until 1919, just before the demise of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters.

These frequent changes in War Office organization no doubt hindered the development of education and training, and made it difficult for those responsible for their direction to devise a coherent policy. To compound the problem, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century the Corps of Army Schoolmasters came to be directed, immediately below the Director-General of Military Education, by a succession of staff officers who possessed none of the detailed educational knowledge of, for example, Gleig or Lefroy when they had been responsible for Army schools. Up until 1881 the immediate management of Army schools had been vested in Colonel A C Gleig. His tenure of office as Inspector of Army Schools, and before that assistant inspector,

had extended over a period of 25 years. This had given him 'a minute knowledge of every detail of school work' and of the relative merits of the staff, and meant that the Director-General could rely upon him for sound educational advice, including recommendations for promotion. The result was that in 1881 the schools were described as being 'in a high state of efficiency'.³⁵ Whatever the merits of this system on educational grounds, administratively it was considered unsatisfactory, for Colonel Gleig had established his office at his private residence in Leatherhead and this increased the correspondence and led to considerable inconvenience. Yet instead of simply moving his office to London, his appointment was abolished and he was replaced by a staff officer, with the title of Assistant Director of Military Education, whose term of office was made subject to the ordinary limited periods of staff officers. This was to have an adverse effect upon Army schools.³⁶

On appointment, the Assistant Director was so absorbed in acquiring a knowledge of the system, which often entailed considerable technical detail with which he was invariably unfamiliar, that he had little or no time to inspect, which was 'the essence of any education system'. Since he had few opportunities to leave his office and visit schools he was unable to get to know the teachers personally, with the result that promotion became dependent almost exclusively upon length of service rather than upon merit which, in turn, tended to quash individual enthusiasm. Finally, it was recognized that not all staff officers had the special aptitude necessary to administer and inspect Army schools.³⁷ As Wolseley, then Adjutant-General, pointed out in 1890, 'the inspection of Army Schools is an art in itself. A man may be very clever and yet be useless as an Inspector of Schools'.³⁸ The only solution was to appoint a suitable person on a more permanent tenure and this was brought about in 1892 with the establishment of a new post of Director of Army Schools, immediately under the Director-General of Military Education as illustrated at Appendix R.³⁹ The appointment was to be initially for five years, with extension being dependent upon satisfactory work.⁴⁰

An Artillery officer, Lieutenant-Colonel D F Jones, the Deputy Assistant Director of Army Schools, became the first and indeed the only person to hold this post, which carried the rank of colonel, and as he retained it for nearly 11 years one can only assume that he performed his duties efficiently. Even so, it would appear that the post itself was not secure. In 1898, when the post of the Director-General of Military Education was under threat, the then incumbent, General C W Wilson, told the Commander-in-Chief that 'if any reduction must be made' it ought to be in the Schools' Department and in particular the post of Director of Army Schools.⁴¹ In the event the latter post survived ⁴² and it was the Director-General's that did not. Only five years later, in 1903, when responsibility for Army schools was transferred to the Department of the Adjutant-General, the post of Director of Army Schools too was abolished and an Assistant Adjutant-General, a colonel on a normal staff tour, took over his responsibilities. At the outbreak of war in 1914, the section responsible for Army schools, AG4b, was minute and was run by a retired officer. Education did not even have a branch to itself as shown at Appendix S, for AG4 was also charged with a number of miscellaneous duties including State ceremonies, military funerals and tournaments.⁴³

Such a system could only survive because of a policy of decentralization. Indeed, the reason why General Wilson had been willing to sacrifice the post of Director of Army Schools in 1898 was because, with increasing decentralization, there would be less work to do at the centre. General Officers Commanding, who were responsible for the efficiency and administration of Army schools in their commands, were instructed not to refer matters to the War Office, except in exceptional circumstances.⁴⁴ They were not, however, left without any professional educational advice or support, for they could turn to the local inspector of Army schools, whose task it was to ensure that the requisite educational standards were maintained. It would though be misleading to think of the Army school inspector as a recent innovation, for the need to maintain appropriate educational standards had long been recognized by the military authorities.

Inspection of Army schools

The importance of some system of inspection of the regimental schools had been acknowledged by the military authorities in 1846 with the appointment of an Inspector-General of Army Schools. Prior to this, as discussed in Chapter 3, no provision was made for the supervision of Army schoolmasters except for the apparently inadequate and infrequent visits to the regimental schools by local chaplains.⁴⁵ The authorities had come to understand that there was little point in establishing more schools and training masters if there was no one to oversee them, a point emphasized by Sir Sidney Herbert in his submission to the Treasury in 1846.⁴⁶ In addition, and reflecting the policy of the newly-created Committee of the Privy Council on Education, the military authorities appreciated the need for some assurance that the increasing public funds allocated to education were not being wasted. It was probably no coincidence that an Inspector of Army Schools was established only a few years after that of Her Majesty's Inspectorate.

By the end of Gleig's tenure of office as Inspector-General in 1857, the nucleus of an inspectorate had been formed and was soon to comprise a pool of Army schoolmasters at home and regimental officers overseas. In Gibraltar, Malta and Corfu, for example, local inspectors were selected from the staff or regiments and they inspected the schools in their area, in addition to their normal duties. In India too, although not formally under the jurisdiction of the Inspector-General of Army Schools, the practice of appointing inspectors from amongst the more senior Army schoolmasters prevailed in the three presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal.⁴⁷ Collectively, all of these inspectors provided a network of inspection from Ireland to Calcutta, their reports providing a vivid picture of the state of Army education worldwide and the conditions under which the schoolmasters laboured both at home and abroad.

At home three assistant inspectors were appointed by Panmure in 1856. Captain A C Gleig became responsible for South Britain, whilst Mr J P Sargeant and Mr E Vicars assumed responsibility

for the North of Britain and Ireland, respectively. The latter two assistant inspectors were civil servants at the War Department, a somewhat surprising choice and one which did not escape the attention of Sidney Herbert. In June 1856, in a debate in the House of Commons on the subject of officers' education, he touched in passing upon the matter of inspection of regimental schools. Herbert acknowledged that the regimental schools had become so numerous that it was impossible for one individual to undertake their inspection, 'even one with the energy of the present Inspector-General', Gleig, and so Herbert welcomed the appointment of three additional inspectors. But the appointment of two civil servants was, in Herbert's opinion, a grave mistake for, 'although these gentlemen are, no doubt, efficient and indefatigable men in their proper situations, they are no more fit to inspect these schools than I am'. In his view they should have been selected from military officers who had distinguished themselves in 'the higher and more scientific branches of the profession of arms, and who would, therefore, have carried more weight with them than any who could be introduced into the Army from the civil service'.⁴⁸ There was, however, a further option under consideration, and that was to place inspection of Army schools under the Privy Council.

In the same debate in the House of Commons, Sidney Herbert explained that he had seen a minute of the Privy Council which proposed to place the regimental schools under their inspection. Herbert described this idea as 'objectionable as well as fanciful' and, he went on, 'officers commanding regiments are not some of them much disposed to education at all; but certainly, least of all, would they be induced to regard with favour an educational system for the army not under the direction of the Horse Guards, nor would they have bowed to the authority of the new Gentlemen who are inspectors under the Privy Council'.⁴⁹ Mr Frederick Peel, the Under-Secretary of State for War, replying to Sidney Herbert, said that the idea of using Privy Council inspectors in Army schools had never been 'seriously entertained', something that Herbert was pleased to hear.⁵⁰

Whilst these political manoeuvrings were taking place as to who the assistant inspectors should be and to whom they should be

answerable, Gleig was drawing up a set of Instructions for Assistant Inspectors of Military Schools, which were issued in March 1856.⁵¹ These were one of the last sets of instructions laid down by Gleig, although the first of many which were to regulate the work of inspectors in succeeding decades. Each inspector was to ensure that the timetable was strictly adhered to; that only approved books were used; that the schoolmaster and mistress were fit for their work and that accommodation was up to standard. At the close of each inspection, the inspector submitted his report to the Inspector-General of Army Schools, and at the end of the year the latter consolidated his findings in an annual return so that the Secretary of State would be in a position to inform Parliament that education was well attended to, if he was required to do so.⁵² Perhaps not surprisingly there were great differences of practice concerning the type of inspection undertaken, with some inspectors visiting schools up to four times a year and others only once, and some considering that five hours was sufficient for an inspection with others requiring two days.⁵³

In an attempt to bring about greater uniformity, the newly-formed Council of Military Education put forward a series of recommendations in a report to the Commander-in-Chief in 1861. These were based upon details provided by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education on the methods of inspection carried out in civilian elementary schools which received a government grant, and also on the experience of Henry Moseley, the former HMI who had long been associated with Army education and was at this time a member of the Council of Military Education.⁵⁴ Instructions to HMIs had been set out in the Minutes of the Committee of Council in 1840, and are important because they give a clear indication of Kay-Shuttleworth's conception of education and inspection which were to be clearly reflected in Army schools. Inspectors were not only to confirm that public money had been well spent, but were to spread information on improved methods of teaching, to assist and encourage local efforts, not to restrain them, and to stimulate rather than compel.⁵⁵ As F Smith points out in his biography of Kay-Shuttleworth, the theory

of inspection that arose at a later date, and which created a false and harmful relationship between teachers and inspectors, was not of his making. Kay-Shuttleworth stressed that the inspectors were to 'abstain from any interference with the instruction, management, or discipline of the school'; to do nothing which 'could tend to impair the authority of the school committee' and not to offer any advice or information except where it was invited.⁵⁶

In similar fashion the Council of Military Education recognized the importance of the Army inspector fostering a sound relationship with the commanding officer who, like the school committees of which Kay-Shuttleworth spoke, was responsible for the well-being of the school. It pointed out that the efficiency of the regimental school depended on the commanding officer's support and that 'where this is freely given, the measure of improvement is only limited by the circumstances in which the regiment may be placed, and by the capabilities of the schoolmaster; where it is withheld, the best schoolmaster can do but little'.⁵⁷ It followed, therefore, that the 'greatest care must be taken lest the assistant inspector should seem in the least to supersede the commanding officers in the responsible control and management of the schools'.⁵⁸ Whilst he was permitted to give professional advice, based upon his wide experience, he was certainly not to give any directions or instructions.

In the following year, 1862, new instructions were laid down for the assistant inspectors based on the recommendations of the Council.⁵⁹ They were to visit each school in their district at least once a year, with no less than half a day being devoted to each of the schools for the adults and children. Whenever possible, the commanding officer was to accompany the inspection. The following day, the schoolmaster was to examine the papers and the assistant inspector complete his report, the children being given a holiday that day. Before leaving the station the assistant inspector was to forward his report, together with specimens of work, to the Council of Military Education, leaving an abstract of his report for the commanding officer.

At the same time, the Council recommended that a more local system of inspection be established, particularly at large stations. It recognized that this was already the practice in some areas where experienced Army schoolmasters did oversee the schools, but it needed to be formalized, with schoolmasters receiving fuller recognition for the work they were undertaking by being given commissioned rank and designated superintending schoolmasters.⁶⁰ In 1863, 18 such posts were established, a relatively small number, which made promotion for the Army schoolmaster highly competitive and was to have a demoralizing effect upon many who believed that their chances of success were slim. Similar grievances were soon to be expressed by the National Union of Elementary Teachers, which was formed in 1870; indeed, it was the lack of promotion prospects to the Inspectorate that was felt most keenly by the leaders of the profession and roused the deepest emotions.⁶¹ In civilian elementary schools, the inspectors were nearly all young men straight from university and thus there was almost no opportunity for the elementary school teacher to rise to comparable status. In this respect the military and civilian inspectorates were quite different. It is true that the Army schoolmaster's chances of such promotion were slight, but that was because the number of Army school inspectors was small. Unlike its civilian counterpart, the Army's Inspectorate was soon to be drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of its own schoolmasters.

By 1865 there were three inspection divisions at home, each headed by an assistant inspector of Army schools, supported by a small number of superintending schoolmasters, as shown at Appendix T.⁶² In the Southern Division, for example, Gleig, the Assistant Inspector, was assisted by two experienced superintending schoolmasters, John Grant and John Belling, the latter having had 16 years' experience as an Army schoolmaster. In 1869 Gleig assumed direct responsibility for all the schools in Great Britain and also the title of Inspector of Army Schools, Mr Sargeant, in the North, having been 'removed' from his post as Assistant Inspector.⁶³ A year later, Gleig's authority was extended to Ireland, following the timely death of Mr Vicars in

1870.⁶⁴ When responsible for the schools in Great Britain alone, Gleig had visited them all annually, reporting to the Director-General of Military Education on their general state and upon the efficiency of the teaching staff. This in itself was a demanding task; now it was virtually impossible. Consequently, when the Royal Commission into Military Education considered this issue in 1870 it recommended that the Inspector of Army Schools coordinate and supervise the work of his subordinates, but that he be relieved of the duties of actual inspection. This should be performed by the superintending schoolmasters, who should be re-designated sub-inspectors of Army schools in order to reflect more accurately their responsibilities.⁶⁵

The recommendations of the Royal Commission were implemented immediately with 12 sub-inspectors being posted to the major stations at home.⁶⁶ Overseas, the duties of sub-inspectors continued to be performed by local inspectors. In the face, however, of mounting criticism over the lack of professional educational knowledge and expertise of these regimental officers, the post of local inspector was abolished in 1888. Sub-inspectors were appointed instead, as at home. In the interests of economy these stations were grouped together, with South Africa, Natal, St Helena and Mauritius, for example, being supervised by one sub-inspector; China, Singapore and Ceylon by another. In this way it was hoped that school inspection overseas would be put on a more satisfactory footing and greater uniformity secured.⁶⁷

Whether at home or overseas, the increasingly formalized system of inspection in both the adult and children's schools placed more and more demands upon the Army schoolmaster. As far as the children's schools were concerned, although the Army schoolmaster was not constrained by the system of payment by results,⁶⁸ he was equally accountable and became increasingly subjected to a system of inspection which appeared to be just as restrictive. As the Director-General of Military Education pointed out in his report of 1893, 'other effective guarantees' were taken to ensure that standards were maintained by a vigorous system of

inspection, with the schoolmaster's periodic pay increases being dependent upon satisfactory reports.⁶⁹

Inspection of the elder children's schools

Ever since 1850, when the first Army School Regulations were published, the rules and regulations relating to the children's schools had become increasingly detailed and complex. By the late 1880s, these regulations, together with Standing Orders for Inspectors, totalled over 100 pages of close print. Between them they laid down in minute detail every aspect of school life: its management and organization; the curriculum to be studied in each of the standards at a particular age; the procedures to be followed and levels to be attained. At the same time the number of inspections to which the children's schools were subjected had also multiplied. By 1870, these could be as many as four a year, a figure that the Royal Commission into Military Education found disturbing.⁷⁰ Under new regulations, in 1871, this was reduced to just two ⁷¹ and by the mid-1870s to one, partly to relieve the excessive workload of the sub-inspectors in the larger districts but also to give more time between examinations for pupils to make greater progress. Although the children's schools were only examined thoroughly once a year, they were still subjected to half-yearly visits after which a report was submitted to the Inspector of Army Schools based upon the general management of the schools and the quality of teaching.⁷²

This pattern of a formal annual inspection, with an interim visit or less formal inspection, continued until the early twentieth century when the regulations relating to the half-yearly inspection were gradually relaxed. The Standing Orders for Inspectors, 1906, stipulated that reports on these inspections need only be submitted when the school had gained a poor merit award ⁷³ at the previous annual inspection or when the inspector was generally dissatisfied with the state of the school.⁷⁴ Three years later the half-yearly inspection itself could be dispensed with in headquarters children's schools with which the inspector was in close touch, and should not be carried out when the school had received an 'excellent' merit award at the last annual

inspection, provided that the same schoolmaster was in charge.⁷⁵ The latter had still, however, to contend with the 'surprise' visit, or visit without notice, which was designed to keep him on his toes. Following civilian practice, these visits enabled the inspector to see the schools in their 'normal condition', which was not the case with the regular inspections where everything was prepared beforehand. The Director-General of Military Education believed that such visits without notice had a most beneficial effect upon the schoolmaster

The good teacher is encouraged by the visits which bring his work into the light of official recognition, whilst they hold in check those who might be tempted to become lax and indolent.⁷⁶

By the late 1880s the procedures to be followed at all examinations, especially the annual examination, had reached a high level of sophistication, as Army School Regulations for 1888 showed, and they were to remain in large part intact until the first decade of the twentieth century. At the annual inspection the duties of the inspector were both general and specific. Part of a day was devoted to observing the regular working of the school under normal conditions, as far as that was possible. The qualifications of the schoolmaster were checked and if the inspector had any doubts as to his abilities he could be asked to give a lesson. Administratively, the inspector was to check attendance over the previous 11 months; to see that the registers were properly maintained; to ensure that the timetable reflected the prescribed course of instruction and that all Army orders relating to Army schools had been copied into Army Book 129. But the central feature of the inspection, certainly as far as the pupils were concerned and perhaps the master and mistress too, was the individual examination of each child in his or her appropriate standard, and that also included children in the infant and sewing schools.

Prior to the examination, the schoolmaster in charge of the elder children's school prepared a schedule, in triplicate, on Army Form C 312 showing the names of all children on the register, arranging them in order of age, the youngest first, according to

the standards in which they were working. At the inspection itself the inspector was to check, as well as he could, that the ages of the children recorded were correct, if necessary by 'interrogating' the children. This was important as it was expected that a child of average ability would be examined in the standard corresponding to his age. Thus, a child of seven to eight years of age was expected to pass in Standard I and to attain a higher standard each year until, at the age of 14, Standard VII was passed. All children in the elder children's school were to be presented in one of the standards, and if any child failed to be present the reason had to be explained to the inspector in writing. In order to obtain a pass in a standard, a child had to achieve the requisite level of proficiency in two of the three elementary subjects; if a child failed in more than one elementary subject he was usually presented again in the same standard.⁷⁷

Since children were expected to have passed Standard I before going up to the elder children's school, the schoolmistress was also required to prepare a schedule and to present all children over seven years of age for examination. But to help ensure that infants were not forced at too early an age into the standards, children presented in Standard I below the age of seven were very carefully examined and were required to pass in all three elementary subjects to be successful.⁷⁸ In later years this same concern, not to push children too quickly through the standards beyond their capabilities, was also apparent in the elder children's schools. Children who were brought forward by two standards were to be carefully examined not only in the standard in which they were presented, but also in the one passed over. Failure to qualify in the latter constituted an absolute failure, even if they had qualified in the former. Whilst it was emphasized that able children should not be held back, the authorities were anxious to ensure that each standard had been thoroughly taught, for it was against the interests of children 'to permit them to obtain an undeserved record by shallow teaching and defective attainments'.⁷⁹ Levels of achievement in all subjects - elementary, class or specific - were recorded

individually, and collectively they contributed substantially to the overall kind of report produced.⁸⁰

The inspector's annual report, completed on Army Form 320, was based upon the tone, discipline and organization of the school and also upon attendance and attainment for which satisfactory standards were now laid down. When the rate of attendance over the previous 11 months fell below 90% for the elder boys and 85% for the elder girls and infants, attendance was regarded as unsatisfactory and the reasons investigated. As far as attainment was concerned, a school could only be reported upon as satisfactory when the overall percentage of passes in the elementary subjects was 85% or more, and the average number of passes 2.5 for each child. But the inspector was to be guided not only by the percentage of passes, but also by the number of pupils who gained a good pass rather than those who just secured the minimum number of marks.⁸¹ This attempt to differentiate between those schools where children performed indifferently and those in which they did well, especially in the elementary subjects, reflected the aim of the merit grant to civilian schools that had been introduced in 1882, when grants were awarded to schools depending upon whether they were graded excellent, good or fair. By the end of the century, a similar grading system had been adopted in Army schools, ranging from excellent to bad,⁸² and in the early twentieth century the term 'merit award' was formally adopted.⁸³

Army Schoolmaster A L Collison served in the Corps from 1904 to 1927 and he recalled how, in the early years of his service, every child was examined individually and how this contributed to two awards: the school 'merit' award and the 'progress' award⁸⁴ made upon each teacher. A 'double excellent' was the aim of every headmaster but this 'took some getting' unless the inspector was particularly indulgent. There was, however, a particular incentive for the pupils to perform well for, since 1891, they could receive a certificate of merit of their own if they achieved the requisite standard. These certificates were of two kinds, A and B. Certificate A was awarded to pupils who had passed Standard V and above in all three elementary subjects

and Certificate B to those who passed in the same subjects in Standards II to IV. They had been introduced to reward achievement and also to help the smooth transition of children from school to school, for on transfer they were to take their certificates with them; for those children who had not obtained an award, a slip indicating their level of attainment and signed by the teacher was substituted.⁸⁵

Given the detailed and thorough nature of such inspections, perhaps it was little wonder that the Committee on Army Schools, under the chairmanship of Colonel H Bowles, Assistant Adjutant-General of Army Schools, reported in 1904 that the schools were generally over-inspected and over-examined, and that some of the inspectors were 'inclined to take a too critical attitude towards the schools'.⁸⁶ This and other reports during the first decade of the twentieth century suggested that the military authorities were beginning to question whether their methods of education, including inspection, were the best that could be adopted. In this, they were undoubtedly influenced by developments in civilian education which had undergone radical change during the last decade of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries.

In the early 1890s examination by sample had replaced individual examination of every child, and by 1900 almost all elementary schools were subjected to general inspection only.⁸⁷ The institution of the block grant for elementary schools, under the Code of 1900, extended this more liberal approach by ending finally the elaborate system of grants for discipline, organization and for certain subjects, and the previous division of subjects - obligatory, class and specific - was replaced by a list of subjects which elementary school teachers were expected 'as a rule' to teach. The Code of 1904 redefined the aims of the elementary school to embrace the physical, mental and character development of the children, whilst the associated Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers, published in 1905, officially disavowed any need for uniformity of practice in relation to the curriculum or teaching methods.⁸⁸

Gradually, changes of a similar nature were made in Army schools, although the need to maintain a standard curriculum and to ensure comparable levels of attainment throughout Army schools worldwide, meant that they were introduced by the military authorities rather more slowly than they might otherwise have been. A first indication of change in the role of the inspector came in 1899, when Standing Orders for Inspectors explained that he was no longer to be merely 'critic and examiner', but also 'adviser and helper',⁸⁹ a role that was amplified in later instructions in 1906. Whilst recognizing that it was the inspector's duty to criticize and examine, they pointed out that his duties would be ill-performed

if he does not regard himself and succeed in winning teachers to regard him rather as an adviser and helper, interested in furthering the best objects of education both of children and adults, than as a disinterested critic and detached examiner: his attitude towards the schools therefore should be strongly sympathetic rather than severely critical.⁹⁰

The same instructions went on to stress that the inspector should 'encourage individuality on the part of the teachers, and allow considerable latitude in method'.⁹¹ In reality this was difficult to realize, for Army schools were still subject to a strict annual and individual examination by the inspector. Indeed, in some respects, the levels of attainment demanded of pupils had increased. In order to move up a standard, children were now required to pass in each of the three elementary subjects, although there was some concession to borderline pupils whose work over the previous three months could now be taken into account.⁹²

Consideration had been given to the civilian practice of entrusting the examination of children to the teachers themselves during the first few years of the new century but this had been rejected at the time. It was thought preferable, in view of the frequent moves of Army children from school to school, that a child's attainments be ascertained by an 'unbiassed authority' in the person of the inspector.⁹³ Nevertheless, only a few years later, in 1908, schoolmasters and mistresses were made respon-

sible for passing children up from one standard to the next, with the result that the inspectors were now able to devote more of their time to general supervision, to seeing schools at their ordinary work and to making constructive suggestions to teachers. At the same time, schoolmasters and mistresses were given responsibility for devising schemes of work for children below Standard IV, the work in the lower standards now being formally regarded as an extension of the infant school.⁹⁴ These changes, which gave masters and mistresses greater responsibility and some scope for initiative, and which followed civilian practice, were very much welcomed by members of the Corps.

In its attempt to take what was best from civilian educational practice, the War Office also began to forge closer links with the Board of Education and its inspectors.⁹⁵ The War Office had been reluctant to consider this in the past because it believed that it would have been both undesirable and unnecessary to do so. The peculiar requirements of the Army appeared to demand a system of administration for which civilian methods were ill-adapted, and the custom of keeping elementary education entirely in the hands of the military had met with a considerable degree of success in the past. Over 50 years before, Gleig, when Inspector-General of Army Schools, had left no one in any doubt as to his position. Replying to a suggestion that civilian inspectors be employed in assessing the qualifications of prospective officers for the Scientific Corps, he had made it clear that he did not want Moseley 'or any other civil professor to interfere', for he was best fitted to undertake this role.⁹⁶

With the opening of the new century, Gleig's successors were equally adamant that the Army should retain its own inspectorate, not least in order to make provision for its schools overseas. They did, however, recognize that if Army schools were not to fall behind, a 'close and friendly understanding' needed to be cultivated with the Board of Education.⁹⁷ By this time, the latter had 'trained experts, men of the highest education' to advise it on the most effective educational methods. These men had gained educational experience which no military officer could

hope to acquire, and certainly not the Army school inspector whose training and outlook were necessarily narrow, having spent his whole career 'within the four walls of an Army school'.⁹⁸

On the recommendation of the report by the Dasent Committee in 1901, the Board's inspectors visited Army schools periodically and advised the War Office accordingly, and Army school inspectors also visited civilian schools with HMIs.⁹⁹ Some Army school inspectors had been concerned that their role might become superfluous once HMIs visited Army schools, but the Dasent Report had taken care to stress that such visits would not 'in any way override the authority of the Army inspectors' or interfere with the 'special organization of the Army schools'; their role was to offer advice on modern teaching practice only.¹⁰⁰ Any reservations that the Army school inspectors might have had over their future position were unwarranted, for they were also responsible for the inspection of the adult schools of the Army. The central feature here remained the Army certificates of education, which had no obvious equivalent in civilian education and thus were largely unfamiliar to the civilian inspector.

Inspection of the adult schools

The adult schools had also become increasingly subjected to a detailed system of inspection and examination during the second half of the nineteenth century. This trend was perhaps inevitable when one remembers that they were inspected at the same time as the children's schools, but it also reflected the growing importance being attached by the Army to its certificates of education, which were first introduced in 1860 and which became mandatory for promotion exactly a decade later.¹⁰¹

Soon after the Council of Military Education assumed responsibility for Army schools in 1860, it issued a set of Instructions (1862) to inspectors, which laid down more precise details as to the nature of each inspection, as already discussed.¹⁰² Since, however, only about a half of those on the school books presented themselves for examination, it proved

difficult to assess individual progress. To overcome this problem, all men were tested by the schoolmaster on joining the school and a record kept in a special book allotted for this purpose. Subsequently, every soldier was re-examined at six-monthly intervals and, in any case, one month prior to the inspector's visit. Thus, whether or not a man was present at the inspection, the inspector would be able to assess what progress had been made.¹⁰³ At each inspection, conducted twice a year from 1870 until the first decade of the twentieth century, it was the inspector's duty to test the progress of the adults, particularly in the lower classes, by comparing their work with that done at the previous inspection or, in the case of those recently attending the school, with their entrance examination papers.¹⁰⁴ As in the children's schools, the inspector was required to submit a report on the adult school after each inspection. This was based on the discipline and tone of the school, and also on the soldiers' attainments which increasingly focused upon the Army certificates of education.

When the Army certificates of education had first been introduced in 1860 it had been the commanding officer who granted certificates on the recommendation of the schoolmaster.¹⁰⁵ By the end of the decade this responsibility had come to reside firmly with the Inspector of Army Schools. The examinations were conducted and marked locally by the superintending schoolmaster, the papers then being sent to the Inspector of Army Schools who authorized the awarding of certificates and notified commanding officers accordingly.¹⁰⁶ When sub-inspectors were appointed, following the recommendations of the Royal Commission into Military Education (1870), they assumed the role formerly undertaken by the superintending schoolmasters and, in addition, were authorized to award the newly-created fourth class certificates of education on their own authority.¹⁰⁷ No further particulars of examination procedures were provided at this time, but during the 1880s a more detailed picture emerges. By then, the role of the inspector as both inspector and examiner had been laid down in detail, as in the children's schools, and this remained broadly unchanged for the remainder of the period under review.

Little was left to chance as Army School Regulations, 1888, showed.

Examinations for first class certificates of education were held twice a year on the same days: on the last Wednesday of March and October and the two following days. Whenever possible, the examinations were to be supervised by inspectors or, in their absence, by officers selected by the General Officer Commanding. In order to secure strict uniformity, printed examination papers were provided by the Director-General of Military Education and, on completion, the scripts were submitted to him for assessment and the subsequent award of certificates.¹⁰⁸ For the second and third class certificates, the examination system was equally thorough although more decentralized in order to cope with the far greater number of candidates.

The examination papers for the second and third class certificates were set by the inspector of the district. At stations overseas where there was no inspector, a pool of papers was supplied periodically by the Director-General of Military Education, the regulations stipulating that no paper was to be used more than once. Examinations were held four times a year, twice at the time fixed for the inspection of the school, and the remaining two mid-way between these dates. As at the first class level, the inspector conducted the examinations whenever possible, but given their frequency and the limited numbers of inspectors, particularly overseas, it was common practice for the district headquarters to nominate a regimental or staff officer to perform this task. He was not to be under the rank of captain and was designated superintending officer. Before the examination, he was to satisfy himself of the identity of the candidates; ensure that the stipulated space was left between each candidate, and check that no one had any unauthorized material in his possession. Any man found infringing this latter regulation or assisting a colleague was immediately disqualified from the examination. At the end of the examination, the superintending officer was required to sign a certificate confirming that the regulations had been complied with; in the

absence of this, no certificates of education would be awarded.¹⁰⁹

The examination papers were marked by 'examining officers', who would have been inspectors or staff officers,¹¹⁰ but to whoever the task was entrusted, the guidelines for marking each paper were very precise. In spelling, one mark was to be deducted for each error, no mistake being counted twice; and in arithmetic, a half mark was taken off for each error and no marks gained at all if the principle had not been understood. To gain full marks in reading a soldier had to read in a 'fluent and intelligible manner', with marks deducted for lack of fluency and incorrect accentuation, although care was to be taken not to penalize him for 'mere provincialisms'.¹¹¹ In order to pass, candidates had to obtain a minimum qualifying mark in all subjects and achieve an overall qualifying aggregate, as shown at Appendix U.¹¹² Those who failed were not allowed to be awarded a lower class of certificate, as in the past. All soldiers, however, whether they passed or not, were told the number of marks that they had scored, thereby enabling those who had failed to know where their weaknesses were.¹¹³

In subsequent years the content of the examinations changed to reflect changes in the curriculum,¹¹⁴ but the system of inspection remained essentially the same for the examinations of the certificates of education. But as far as general inspection was concerned there were some notable changes in the form of a gradual relaxation in the nature of inspections, as there had been in the children's schools. By 1906, the half-yearly inspection was rarely deemed to be necessary except where it had been impossible to undertake surprise visits.¹¹⁵ As in the children's schools, attention slowly shifted from the student to the teacher with the inspector being concerned primarily with methods of teaching rather than individual attainment at each level.

Conclusion

The thorough system of inspection that had been developed and refined during the second half of the nineteenth century

undoubtedly contributed to the rising standards in both the children's and adult schools. Although this probably reflected a general rise in the educational level of the population at large, one has to remember that the Army recruited from the poorer section of the community and so the advances that were made are a fine tribute to the work of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters, and that included both schoolmaster and inspector. Gradually, the curriculum in both the adult and children's schools was widened; masters and mistresses were exhorted to pay more attention to the sensibilities of the pupils, at least of the children, and a more liberal approach to inspection was adopted. The extent of change should not, however, be exaggerated. The military authorities were slow to note advances in civilian education and rarely put forward new ideas of their own. As already discussed in Chapter 6, the curriculum in the children's schools lagged behind that of its civilian counterparts,¹¹⁶ and in the adult school it was remote from one of the Army's most serious problems, resettlement, on which recruiting depended.¹¹⁷ As far as teaching methods were concerned, it is difficult to believe that masters and mistresses readily adjusted to a more pupil-centred approach, whatever the regulations encouraged.

The reasons why Army schools did not make the progress that might have been expected during the latter part of the nineteenth century, given the tremendous strides that had been made in the 1840s, were many sided. In part it can be attributed to financial stringency, but that was not new. More fundamentally, it can be attributed somewhat ironically to the very system of control and inspection of Army schools which had done so much to further the cause of elementary education within the Army.

With the direction of educational policy on Army schools residing in a small branch of the War Office and its members being relatively junior staff officers rather than educationists, it was unlikely that there would be many innovations in educational policy. In the field, furthermore, direction and influence rested not with the inspector but with the General Officer

Commanding and it was he who had the power to open and close schools, to transfer teaching staff within his command and to receive all inspectors reports, copies of which were finally forwarded to the War Office. Within each garrison, the General Officer Commanding appointed an 'Officer Commanding Schools', who was yet another regimental officer. It was he who was the commanding officer of every schoolmaster and mistress and who followed up, for example, any absence of children from school and requests for repair of premises and supply of materials for the school. The result was a system which was unbalanced: power resided with men without educational experience, and those who had such experience, the inspectors, were virtually impotent. Arguably, even if the inspectors had possessed more authority and influence, they would have lacked the vision to bring about change, given their background and training.

The Army school inspector was himself embedded in the traditions of the Corps, having probably been an ex-student of one of the two military boarding schools. When commissioned, he accompanied a civilian inspector for a brief period before putting on his inspector's uniform and assuming his new duties. Such a system undoubtedly had its advantages, for it provided all Army schoolmasters with the opportunity to be promoted into the Inspectorate. But it also meant that the latter comprised men who had come through the lower ranks and who lacked the status or authority to achieve any significant change of direction. The notion of anything like a change of policy probably never occurred to them. What did occur to them and also irritated them, were their conditions of service and their lack of status within the Army, both of which they consistently endeavoured to improve.

FOOTNOTES : CHAPTER 8

1. See Chapter 1, pp.30-32.
2. See Chapter 3, pp.82-84.
3. Disagreement between the two men was not new for it had arisen in 1849 over the selection of candidates for the Normal School. Gleig had proposed that he should first examine candidates 'as to character and fitness', after which the headmasters of the Normal and Model Schools at the Asylum would assess their educational qualities. Panmure disagreed, for if Gleig rejected a candidate the headmasters would not see him, and if Gleig approved a candidate it was unlikely they would disagree. Jones D R, The Rev G R Gleig and Early Victorian Army Education (M.A. thesis, Belfast, 1983), p.97.
4. Correspondence between Gleig and Lord Panmure, 1856, quoted in Jarvis A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office. The Rev Prebendary George Robert Gleig, MA', in Journal of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department, vol. IV, no.36, July 1933, pp. 320-588, at pp.322-323.
5. Ibid., p.321 & The Panmure Papers, Sir G D Bart & Sir G D Ramsay (ed), (1908), vol. 2, Lord Panmure to the Queen, 15 February 1857, p.352.
6. These included the Secretary of State for War who in wartime was responsible for operations and in peacetime concentrated his attention on the Colonies; the Secretary-at-War who was responsible for the Army's finances; the Commander-in-Chief who commanded the Infantry and Cavalry; the Master-General of the Ordnance who commanded the Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery, and the Home Secretary who was responsible for the Militia and Yeomanry.
7. Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Practicability of Consolidating the Civil Administration of the Army, 1837 (under the chairmanship of Viscount Howick,

- Secretary-at-War), P.P.,XXXIV, 1837. See also Goodenough W H & Dalton J C, The Army Book for the British Empire (1893), Chapter XXIV, 'The War Office', pp. 390-412.
8. On 26 January 1855, John Arthur Roebuck, MP for Sheffield, cast the first stone by requesting the establishment of a select committee to inquire into the conduct of the Army. In the debate on the motion the government was defeated by 305 votes to 148 and it promptly resigned. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, The Conduct of the War, and Conditions of the Army, 26 January 1855, vol. CXXXVI, cols. 979-1,063 & 29 January 1855, vol.CXXXVI, cols. 1,228-1,230.
 9. 'Observations by Lord Panmure on Military Organization', February 1855, quoted in The Panmure Papers, op.cit., vol.1, pp.47-48.
 10. These included the transfer of control over the Militia and Yeomanry from the Home Office to the War Department and finally the Master-General of the Ordnance's empire was dissolved. The supply of munitions and field equipment and the supervision of fortifications at home were turned over to the Secretary for War, whilst the Master-General lost his military command over the Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery to the Commander-in-Chief. Henceforth, all the various branches of the War Department, which had previously been scattered all over London, were housed in a building called the War Office, in Pall Mall.
 11. Cole D H & Priestley E C, An Outline of British Military History, 1660-1939, Appendix IV, 'A Note on the Evolution of the War Office' (1945), pp.442-444 & Barnett C, Britain and Her Army, 1509-1970. A Military, Political and Social Survey (1974), pp.288-289.
 12. The Times, 4 & 6 December 1854.
 13. See, for example, Quarterly Review, 'Moral Discipline of the Army', vol.76, no.152, September 1845, pp.387-424; Quarterly Review, 'Education and Lodging of the Soldier',

- vol.77, no.154, March 1846, pp.526-563 & Quarterly Review, 'Military Education', vol. 83, no.166, September 1848, pp.419-450.
14. The Times, 3 & 23 December 1854.
 15. Report from the Select Committee on Sandhurst Royal Military College, June 1855, P.P.,XII, 1854-5.
 16. Amongst those witnesses who were highly critical of the current state of military education was Lieutenant-Colonel W H Adams, Professor of Military Science at the Royal Military College, who insisted that military education was little valued by the greater part of the higher or military authorities, which did not consider that a professional education made 'the slightest difference' with regard to the qualities of an officer. He advocated the establishment of a proper military staff, with all staff officers receiving a 'high professional education' at a staff school. Ibid., Minutes of Evidence, Q.1,277.
 17. Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Consider the Best Mode of Reorganizing the System for Training Officers and for the Scientific Corps, 1857 (under the chairmanship of Lieutenant-Colonel W Yolland, Royal Engineers), P.P.,XL, 1856, pp.xix-xi.
 18. 1st Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1869, P.P., XXIV, 1870, Appendix 1. CME, A Historic Note, p.i. See also PRO WO 33/3B, Section 74/56. On the Organization of a Department of Military Education, by Lieutenant-Colonel J H Lefroy, 1856.
 19. Lady Lefroy (ed), The Autobiography of General Sir John Henry Lefroy (1895), pp.191-192.
 20. PRO WO 33/3A, Section 73/56. Memorandum on the Question of Military Education, the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief, Horse Guards, 12 December 1856. The Duke of Cambridge was Commander-in-Chief from 1856-95. He

was regarded as a symbol of the Crown's conservatism, and the attitude of military reformers to him was summed up in a letter from Sir Garnet Wolseley, when AG, to the Queen's Secretary. The AG wrote 'All the Secretaries of State ... in my time, have suffered at his hands, and have had all needful reforms in the Army ... blocked by him'. Bond B, 'The Late-Victorian Army', in History Today, vol.XI, no. 9, September 1961, pp.616-624, at p.618.

21. Lord Panmure to Queen Victoria, 15 February 1857 & Queen Victoria to Lord Panmure, 17 February 1857, Bart & Ramsay, op.cit., vol.2, pp. 352-356.
22. Ibid., p.337, Lord Panmure to Lord Palmerston, 19 January 1857.
23. Ibid., pp.355-356, the Queen to Lord Panmure, 17 February 1857.
24. See Chapter 3, pp.78-79 & Chapter 4, pp.109-111, for an account of Gleig's attitude to religion and religious instruction in the Army.
25. Memorandum by the CME, 31 July 1861, in 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, Appendix I, p.1.
26. 1st Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1869, P.P., XXIV, 1870, Minutes of Evidence, General W C E Napier, Vice-President of the CME, p.4.
27. Memorandum by the CME, 31 July 1861, in 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, Appendix I, pp.1-2.
28. 1st Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1869, P.P.,XXII, 1868-9, p.13.
29. The War Office List and Directory of Administrative Departments of the British Army, 1871. See Appendix P for the organization of the WO and the DGME's place within it.

30. PRO WO 32/6051. Minute from Major-General C W Wilson, DGME, to the Commander-in-Chief, 5 March 1898.
31. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Army Schools, 1901 (under the chairmanship of J R Dasent, hereafter referred to as The Dasent Report), Minutes of Evidence, Colonel A M Delavoye, Assistant Military Secretary for Education.
32. The War Office List and Directory of Administrative Departments of the British Army, 1903.
33. Report of the War Office (Reconstitution) Committee, 1904 (The Esher Report), P.P., VIII, 1904. It was published in three parts: Part 1, 18 January 1904; Part 2, 26 February 1904 & Part 3, 7 March 1904.
34. The War Office List and Directory of Administrative Departments of the British Army, 1905. See Appendix Q for the place of Army schools within the WO following The Esher Report, 1904.
35. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, p.16.
36. PRO WO 32/6051. Memorandum upon the Administration and Inspection of Army Schools, by the DGME, c.1890.
37. Ibid., loc.cit.
38. Ibid. Internal WO Minute by General Sir G Wolseley, AG, 10 August 1890.
39. The War Office List and Directory of Administrative Departments of the British Army, 1893. See Appendix R, for the organization of Army education within the WO in 1893.
40. PRO WO 32/6051. Memorandum upon the Administration and Inspection of Army Schools, by the DGME, c.1890.
41. Ibid. Minute from Major-General C W Wilson, DGME, to the Commander-in-Chief, 5 March 1898.

42. When Colonel D Jones, Director of Army Schools, saw Major-General Wilson's Minute to the Commander-in-Chief, he wrote to his new superior, the AG, explaining why it was that a Director of Army Schools had been appointed in 1892, that previous Director-Generals of Military Education had valued the post, and that it did not seem wise to alter a system that worked well in order to revert to one which was found inefficient. Ibid., Colonel D Jones to the AG, 13 October 1898.
43. The War Office List and Directory of Administrative Departments of the British Army, 1914. See Appendix S.
44. Army School Regulations, 1906, para.2.
45. See Chapter 3, p.68.
46. Jarvis A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office. The Rev Prebendary George Robert Gleig, MA', in Journal of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department, vol.IV, no.32, July 1931, pp.14-77, at pp.48-49. See Chapter 3, pp.82-83.
47. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, pp.i-ii.
48. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Education of Officers, 5 June 1856, vol. CXLII, cols. 980-1,023.
49. Ibid., cols. 986-1,003. The 'minute' to which Herbert referred was probably related to the Order of the Privy Council, 25 February 1856, which recommended that the Education Department should in future inspect the regimental schools. See The Dasent Report, 1901, p.5.
50. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Education of Officers, 5 June 1856, vol. CXLII, cols. 1,002-1,003.
51. Instructions for Assistant Inspectors of Military Schools, 17 March 1856, in the Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army, and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms, 1859, Appendix I, no.1, pp.85-86.

52. Ibid., loc.cit.
53. Memorandum by the CME, 31 July 1861, in 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, Appendix 1, p.3.
54. Ibid., loc.cit. See Chapter 3, p.94, footnote 47, for details of Moseley's career.
55. Instructions to Inspectors of Schools, August 1840, in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-1, pp.1-11.
56. Smith F, The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth (1974), pp.96-97.
57. Memorandum by the CME, 31 July 1861, in 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, Appendix 1, p.3.
58. Ibid., loc.cit.
59. Instructions for Assistant Inspectors of Army Schools, 5 November 1862. Ibid., Appendix V, no.1.
60. Memorandum by the CME, 31 July 1861. Ibid., Appendix I, p.5. See also Chapter 9, p.280.
61. Tropp A, The School Teachers. The Growth of the Teaching Profession in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day (1957), pp.118-119 & Leese J, Personalities and Power in English Education (1950), pp.102-103. See Chapter 9, pp.275-285, for a fuller account of the views of Army schoolmasters on their lack of promotion prospects.
62. 3rd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XLIV, 1866, pp.vi-vii. See Appendix T.
63. 6th Report by the C.M.E., 1870, P.P., XXV, 1870, p.vi.
64. 1st Report by the D.G.M.E., 1872, P.P., XIV, 1872, p.vi.
65. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.vi. Within Army education, the

term 'Sub-inspector' was reserved for those who had reached the pinnacle of their profession.

66. 1st Report by the D.G.M.E., 1872, P.P., XIV, 1872, p.vii & Appendix I, Regulations for Army Schools, Part 2, Inspection of Army schools.
67. 4th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1889, P.P., XVII, 1889, p.9.
68. See Chapter 6, p.174.
69. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, p.12.
70. This included inspection by the Inspector of Army Schools and the superintending schoolmaster once a year, and twice by the schoolmaster. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xii.
71. Regulations for Army Schools, 1871, Part 2, Inspection of Schools, in 1st Report by the D.G.M.E., 1872, P.P., XIV, 1872, Appendix I.
72. 3rd Report by the D.G.M.E., 1877, P.P., XXX, 1877, p.xi.
73. See p.241 of this chapter for details of the merit award.
74. In ordinary circumstances the inspector would now express his concerns or otherwise to the master or mistress, and retain notes for future reference. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1906, para. 62.
75. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1909, para.50.
76. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, p.4. Although, according to the DGME, surprise visits were not formally introduced until the early 1890s, reference was made to 'occasional' inspections at 'uncertain intervals' in Army School Regulations, 1882, para.64. Surprise visits continued throughout the remainder of the period under review.

77. Army School Regulations, 1888, para.168. By 1906, children had to pass in all three elementary subjects to go up a standard. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1906, para.107A.
78. Army School Regulations, 1888, para. 180. This regulation continued until the end of the century, when no child under seven years of age was to be presented in Standard I. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1900, para.103.
79. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1899, paras. 95-103.
80. Army School Regulations, 1888, para.174. Not until the first decade of the twentieth century were there any changes to these regulations. In 1900, subject passes were still recorded individually. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1900, para.100. By 1906, class subjects were recorded as class subjects below Standard VI, and in singing and physical training in all standards, although elementary and specific subjects were still recorded individually. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1906, para.107.
81. Army School Regulations, 1888, paras. 172-175.
82. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1899, para.105.
83. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1909, para.112. During the first few years of the twentieth century, there was a change of emphasis in determining the level of this award. In 1900 it was dependent upon the accuracy of answers and the thoroughness of knowledge, whereas by 1906 it was determined primarily by the extent to which the powers of observation had been stimulated and developed. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1900, para.105 & 1906, para.112.

84. Collison A L, 'Extracts from Memoirs of an Army Schoolmaster, 1904-27', submitted by Mrs A L Collison on behalf of her husband, deceased. Undated. RAEC Archives. See also Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1906, para.112 for details of the 'progress award'.
85. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, p.13 & Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1899, para.18.
86. Report of the Committee on Army Schools, 1904 (under the chairmanship of Colonel H Bowles, AAG Army Schools, hereafter referred to as The Bowles Report), p.4.
87. As the DGME pointed out, in civilian schools elementary subjects were tested by sample and in class subjects tests were always collectively oral. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, p.12. See also Gordon P & Lawton D, Curriculum Changes in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (1979), pp.19-20.
88. Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and others concerned in the work of Public Elementary Schools, 1905, in Maclure J S, Educational Documents, England and Wales. 1816 to the Present Day (1979), pp.160-161.
89. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1899, para.35.
90. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1906, para.41.
91. Ibid., loc.cit.
92. Ibid., para. 107A. See p.240 of this chapter for details of the standards demanded in 1888.
93. Report on Army Schools, 1910 (under the chairmanship of C F N Macready, Director of Personal Services, hereafter

referred to as The Macready Report), p.3.

94. Ibid., p.4. See also Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1910, para.98 & Appendix I.
95. The Macready Report, p.6.
96. PRO WO 33/3B, Section 76/56. Observations by Rev G R Gleig on First Draft Plan for the Organization of a Department of Military Education proposed by Lieutenant-Colonel J H Lefroy.
97. The Macready Report, 1910, pp.6-7.
98. The Bowles Report, 1904, p.8. See also The Macready Report, 1910, p.6.
99. The Dasent Report, 1901, pp.4-5 & The Macready Report, 1910, pp.4-7.
100. The Dasent Report, 1901, p.5.
101. See Chapter 6, pp.161 & 164.
102. Instructions for Assistant Inspectors of Army Schools, 5 November 1862, in 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, Appendix V, no.1. See pp.234-235 of this chapter for details of these Instructions.
103. Ibid., pp.xiv-v.
104. See, for example, Army School Regulations, 1888, para.71 & Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1900, para.44.
105. 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, pp.xiv-xv.
106. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xiii.
107. Regulations for Army Schools, Part 2, Inspection of Schools, 1st Report by the D.G.M.E., 1872, P.P., XIV, 1872, Appendix 1.

108. Army School Regulations, 1888, paras. 109-116.
109. Ibid., paras. 117-136.
110. It was not until 1888 that sub-inspectors were appointed to stations overseas. Prior to this, examination papers at the second and third class levels would have been marked by staff officers.
111. Army School Regulations, 1888, paras. 137-148.
112. Ibid., Part IV, para.104. See Appendix U. At the first class level, candidates were required initially to take all five subjects at the same time but in the early 1890s, in order to make the examination slightly easier, they could if they wished take them in two groups: dictation, arithmetic and copying manuscript comprising one group of subjects, and geography and English history the second. If a candidate opted to take all subjects at one examination and failed in one subject only but had obtained overall the necessary aggregate, he was permitted to be re-examined in that subject only. However, for those electing to take the examination in two stages, and also for those taking the two lower classes of certificate, failure in one subject or more meant that they would have to re-sit the whole examination. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, p.8.
113. Army School Regulations, 1888, paras.163-164. Earlier in the decade, candidates who failed but had reached a certain minimum standard could be awarded a lower standard of certificate.
114. See Chapter 6, pp.166-167.
115. Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1906, para. 47.
116. See Chapter 6, pp.177-179.
117. See Chapter 5, pp.140-142.

CHAPTER 9: THE ARMY SCHOOLMASTER'S STATUS AND CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

It appears unreasonable that well-educated men ... with the responsibilities of a moral character resulting from the very nature of their duties, should not be rated higher than the grade of non-commissioned officers.¹

Such was the opinion of one Army schoolmaster, John Little, writing in the early 1860s on the status of Army schoolmasters, and it was a view widely held by members of the Corps throughout its existence. During this period they strove to improve their standing in the Army, which was never as high as they thought it should be. Their low status could be attributed to their background and education, training, qualifications and role. As already considered in Chapter 2, during the early part of the nineteenth century the sergeant-schoolmaster was usually poorly-educated and received only a brief period of training.² Although there was a considerable improvement in both of these areas during the mid-decades of the century, the level of work that schoolmasters undertook was of such an elementary level that it tended to earn them the disdain rather than the respect of their military colleagues. This low esteem in which they were held adversely affected their conditions of service which, in turn, reinforced their low status. In many respects their position closely resembled, and was no doubt influenced by, that of civilian elementary school teachers. They too were increasingly demanding higher salaries, pension rights, better working conditions and, in particular, a higher social position.³

Seven years after the founding of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters, the new Educational Expositor published an article 'On the Social Condition of the Schoolmaster', which began

The qualifications now required of schoolmasters are such as would grace any rank of society ... But while the country requires so much of the schoolmaster ... it has not yet assigned him a position in society at all adequate to the value and importance of his services, nor treated him with that respect and consideration which the dignity and responsibility of his office gives him a right to expect ...⁴

Nearly 50 years later, towards the end of the century, one civilian teacher, Mr W Blackman, unconvinced that this situation had changed significantly, decided to become an Army schoolmaster in the hope of greater recognition and reward. As he explained, life in civilian schools was not easy in those days. In 1897, as a newly-qualified first class certificated teacher, he accepted an appointment in a non-provided school in Tooting, at a salary of £85 a year. When he discovered that an Army schoolmaster earned £120 together with a pension after 21 years' service, he applied to the War Office. Following a successful interview at the Duke of York's School at Chelsea, he lost no time in giving in his notice to the school managers in Tooting and in January 1898 reported for duty in Aldershot.⁵

Schoolmaster Blackman's first day

Blackman soon discovered that his programme was a demanding one and wondered whether he had made the right decision. At about 8.45am on his first day he saw a very tall person approaching him dressed in the long frock coat worn by Army schoolmasters, and accompanied by a couple of boys. The former was Blackman's first Army schoolmaster-in-charge. Having been introduced to the members of the school staff, he heard a small bell tinkling from a nearby window and the boys assembled by classes in the asphalt playground. Hands, hair and boots were inspected and the 'scholars' then marched into a large classroom for the hymn, prayer and Scripture lesson before dispersing for instruction. In some respects this school was untypical, for Aldershot was a large garrison and therefore had sufficient children to justify separate boys' and girls' schools, with a correspondingly large staff. Blackman's school had 70 to 80 boys with four schoolmasters and two probationers under the master-in-charge, as well as three NCOs attached to the school as school assistants and a school orderly.⁶

Blackman's first morning ended at 12.30pm when he was introduced to the sergeants' mess. Here he enjoyed a welcome break from school activities with a game of billiards after lunch, before it was time to return to the schoolroom. Children's school finished

at 3.15pm and soon afterwards, from the surrounding guardrooms there came the buglers to 'rend the air with the high-pitched notes of the school call' to the adult soldiers. At 3.25pm the men were marched to the school by the battalion orderly sergeant who reported the names of those who were present. This done, they were marched into school. The first attendance for men usually lasted from 3.30 to 4.45pm and, at the end of his first day, Blackman politely bade good-day to the schoolmaster-in-charge, only to be informed that they would see each other again after tea, as the second attendance for men who were unable to attend earlier was due to begin at 6pm and last until 7.15pm. Blackman was immensely surprised but learnt that this was normal on weekdays. He pondered this deeply and very nearly concluded that one such day in the Army was enough. The prospect of returning to his small room in Tooting persuaded him to continue for 'a little longer'.⁷

Long hours and growing responsibilities

Throughout the period the schoolmaster's day was a long and arduous one and, if anything, became more so as the century progressed. Until late into the nineteenth century, his formal teaching programme for soldiers and the older children extended from early morning until mid-evening on weekdays, and until midday on Saturdays. He also had commitments on Sundays. In addition to his teaching commitments, the schoolmaster was responsible for supervising the work of his assistant schoolmaster and soldier assistants, if he had any, as well as visiting detachment schools in his area and probably keeping a watchful eye on the work of the Army schoolmistress even though she had 'sole responsibility' for the infant school. Equally, as described in the previous two chapters, he had to provide or watch over a range of informal educational activities, as well as assume the duties of an administrative officer, acquainting himself with a plethora of forms and returns in an increasingly bureaucratic age. In all, the Army schoolmaster was not only a teacher but also a manager, administrator and man-of all-works.

Blackman was not alone in thinking that his hours were long. Schoolmaster C A Wilson, serving prior to the First World War,

described his work as a form of slavery and was glad, when war broke out, to be able 'to get away' and join the Gloucesters, his father's regiment.⁸ The authorities had long been aware of the schoolmaster's excessively long hours and had taken some steps to reduce them, at least at weekends. By 1890 there was no formal instruction on Saturday morning, which was very much welcomed by all Army schoolmasters according to W J Ruthven who joined the Corps in that year.⁹ No doubt they also welcomed the decision, some 15 years later, to close the adult school on one weekday as well, although there were still the children to teach.¹⁰ Sunday, however, remained a working day as it always had been since the founding of the Corps. Although participation in Sunday school instruction was optional and schoolmasters were not required to attend 'any form of Divine Worship to which they entertained conscientious objections', they were expected to accompany the children to Sunday school and to do all they could to promote their religious welfare.¹¹ Even then the remainder of the day was not always their own. Schoolmaster W R Leaver, for example, used to play the piano in the sergeants' mess after Sunday dinner, thus helping to keep his mess mates from cards, billiards and drink, which was a further indication of how the schoolmaster was rarely off duty.¹²

By the end of the nineteenth century, when Leaver was serving, thought was being given by the authorities to paying Army schoolmasters for evening instruction as was common in civilian education. Lack of payment was a cause of some resentment amongst Army schoolmasters. One ex-Army schoolmaster, R J Fox, noted that when he had been in the Service he had on some occasions sat up all night preparing his work after a full day's teaching which did not end until mid-evening. For this he received no additional pay. In contrast, in a Board school under the London County Council his 'absolute duty' was five and a half hours a day and if he instructed during the evening he was paid 7/6. The military authorities were, however, unwilling to follow this example because they believed that adult teaching was an integral and essential part of the Army schoolmaster's work.¹³

One area which was not considered to be an essential part of the Army schoolmaster's work was private instruction. In the early years of the existence of the Corps, the Army schoolmaster had been permitted to undertake private instruction of officers' children, provided that it did not interfere with his official school duties.¹⁴ But by 1870 this practice had ceased, at least officially, because it was believed that in many instances the schoolmaster's regular school work was being sacrificed in favour of the instruction of private pupils.¹⁵ No doubt Army schoolmasters regretted this change and believed that they should be allowed to use their off duty hours as they wished,¹⁶ particularly since they had very little time of their own.

As the functions of the regimental school increased and became more formalized after 1846, so there was a growing emphasis on training future Army schoolmasters and their assistants, and it was the schoolmaster's responsibility to provide for this. First, he had to train his assistant schoolmaster, if he had one ¹⁷ and 'afford him every assistance in his power to advance him in his studies',¹⁸ and on Saturday mornings he was to help him in the 'art of teaching'. On his return to Chelsea the assistant sat an examination to see if he had kept up his studies and 'profited from the means of improvement' he had enjoyed under the schoolmaster.¹⁹ Thus, the test was as much an assessment of the schoolmaster as of his assistant.

Meanwhile, the schoolmaster would have to train one or two soldier assistants, who would assist him in the adult and grown children's school. These assistants were selected by the commanding officer and could be paid an extra allowance of 3d a day, their numbers depending upon whether the school had an assistant schoolmaster or not and the number of names on the school register.²⁰ Since the latter bore little relation to the number of men actually attending the adult school it was decided, on the recommendation of the Royal Commission into Military Education of 1870, that their numbers be calculated according to the average attendance of the previous month and appointed in a ratio of one to every 20 pupils attending the adult and grown

children's school.²¹ Throughout the period the system of appointing soldier assistants was fraught with difficulties. In part it was a problem of recruitment for, despite improving the financial incentives,²² men believed that such appointments slowed down their prospects of promotion if detached to school work, and commanding officers were naturally ill-disposed to lose their best men from regimental duties. This meant that it was often the less able NCOs who became assistants. Even though since 1871 they were required to hold a second class certificate of education, this still meant that they were only capable of teaching illiterate men or those working for their third class certificate, and whilst they might have been able to teach adults, few possessed the necessary qualities for working in the children's school.²³ Later in the century, centralized courses were provided to increase their efficiency,²⁴ but initially only a small proportion of men attended them and so, as before, much of the burden of instruction, especially at the higher levels, fell on the Army schoolmaster himself.

By this time, acting schoolmasters,²⁵ responsible for detachment schools in isolated units, were also encouraged to attend these courses, which were held at Aldershot and Woolwich at home and at certain stations overseas, in order to obtain an acting schoolmaster's certificate. For many years it had been the schoolmaster's responsibility to train one or two soldiers in each regiment as acting schoolmaster in the event of a detachment being left behind when the main part of the unit was ordered overseas.²⁶ This provided yet more work for the schoolmaster, although it did give him the opportunity to travel away from his normal place of duty to visit the detachment schools. Army Schoolmaster R J Cameron, serving in Limerick in the 1890s, recalled that he was responsible for one such school serving two companies at King John's Castle and that when he paid them a visit the acting schoolmaster, a corporal, called the school to attention and this made him feel very proud.²⁷ Nevertheless, this must have been somewhat dampened by the knowledge that he would have to compile a separate report on the school, in addition to all the other returns demanded of him.

Since the early years of the Corps' existence, the school regulations that its members had to adhere to had become increasingly numerous, detailed and time-consuming. By the end of the century the schoolmaster's administrative tasks had become so onerous that they were commented on by an Inter-Departmental School Committee Report in 1901. The report pointed out that the work of the Army schoolmaster was often heavier than that of his civilian counterpart, and recommended that consideration be given to lightening his clerical duties and simplifying some of his returns.²⁸ It would appear, however, that change was at best slow, as the reminiscences of Schoolmaster W R Leaver show.²⁹

It took Leaver 20 minutes simply to call the roll, after which he had to mark the register and produce a daily absence report for the commanding officer in both the adult and children's schools. This was followed up by a monthly consolidated report to the commanding officer of each unit, with details of the action taken in each case duly recorded. Then there was all the administrative work associated with the inspections of both schools,³⁰ and these records had to be produced punctually and also accurately for their neglect or falsification was a chargeable offence.³¹ They had, furthermore, to be completed in the schoolmaster's own time, for the regulations laid down that school hours were to be devoted to teaching and not to making out returns or to familiarizing himself with the minutiae of instructions relating to Army schools. Nor did the War Office's appetite for forms and returns end here. Requisitions for school books, materials and even blank forms had to be carefully prepared, since no article would be supplied unless the relevant forms were completed in the precise terms stipulated,³² and yet more forms had to be submitted if work was required to repair or renovate the school buildings.

The schoolmaster's environment and resources

Throughout the period the Army schoolmaster often had to make do with makeshift accommodation, although this improved with the passage of time. At home this usually comprised one or two available rooms within the barracks, and overseas considerably

less. As far as furniture and equipment were concerned, the schoolmaster would have been engaged in constant negotiations with the quartermaster for appropriate materials. In some respects the question of accommodation was probably less of a problem for the military authorities than their civilian colleagues, for there was nearly always somewhere within the barracks to establish a schoolroom, however inadequate it might be. In the early nineteenth century it was certainly spartan. As already noted in Chapter 1, when the regimental schools obtained formal recognition, accommodation was set aside for the use of the sergeant-schoolmaster but, in effect, these were barrack rooms, the men's original living quarters put to a new use.³³

Some 30 years later Gleig, as Principal Chaplain, had attempted to provide better accommodation through the establishment of chapel-schools, ³⁴ although eventually they fell out of favour. In 1870 the Royal Commission into Military Education expressed the view that it was undesirable to use one building for both secular and religious purposes, and recommended that wherever possible special school accommodation should be provided.³⁵ Financial constraints, however, prevented this from being implemented, at least immediately. In 1876 a new chapel-school was built at Lichfield for the South Staffordshire Regiment,³⁶ and the records testify to the existence of one in Jamaica in the 1890s³⁷ and another in Dublin some 20 years later.³⁸

The Army school usually comprised two rooms, one for the grown children and the other for the infants ³⁹ but, as in the civilian field, accommodation varied considerably from school to school. By the close of the nineteenth century the newer schools were spacious with at least one classroom in addition to the main schoolroom. Such improvements could not 'fail to exercise a favourable influence on the efficiency of schools as well as on the health of the soldiers' children, who have to spend several hours a day in them'. Much though remained to be done with the older schools which were 'far below the minimum requirements of the Education Department for public elementary civil schools'.

One of the main problems was that when a number of classes were being instructed at the same time in one room by several teachers, the noise occasioned by so many voices was distracting to the pupils and imposed 'a severe strain upon the teachers, mentally and physically'.⁴⁰ This difficulty could be compounded in some schools by inadequate lighting, for although barracks were supplied with gas it was not normally turned on until half an hour after sunset, in the interests of economy. Candles could be used and indeed were; but they were an imperfect substitute, for not only were a large number required to light a school, but the sloping desks were not ideal for standing candles on.⁴¹ If conditions at home were not perfect, overseas they could be particularly uncomfortable.

In one garrison in India, accommodation was described as small, uncomfortable and located too far away from the troops;⁴² and in Malta, it was described by the local inspector as 'dark, comfortless and uninviting'.⁴³ In Hong Kong, where temperatures reached 100°F in the shade, 300 men were crowded into a room designed for 50.⁴⁴ It was not only the inspector and schoolmaster who drew attention to the difficult conditions; sometimes it was the commanding officer himself. The commanding officer of the 44th Regiment at Fort St George, Madras, was decidedly unimpressed with his school's accommodation, stating that

I have to remark on the almost total want of accommodation afforded by the Colonial Government for the schools. The head quarter school is carried on in a tent, which in this hot climate is very trying to both the scholars and schoolmaster.⁴⁵

As far as equipment was concerned, some of the larger schools were well provided for, but again schools overseas seemed to have been at a disadvantage. Supplies arrived or did not arrive in these more distant places according to the vagaries of the sailing ships. There were instances of indents not being completed for two years, as at Cape Town between 1856 and 1858,⁴⁶ and Schoolmaster Thomas Earpe described how school business came

almost to a halt because of the lack of supplies, especially writing materials.⁴⁷

Leaver provides a vivid picture of the difficulties to be encountered in India, a description made more interesting because his wife was an Army schoolmistress who was responsible for the infant school. They had sailed for India in 1900 and after landing in Bombay in 1901 learnt that they were to be posted to Mian Mir, a few miles from Lahore. Leaver was immediately struck by the listlessness of the children that he and his wife had to teach, for instead of running about they lounged against the school wall. In the churchyard there were monuments to soldiers who had died of cholera in the middle years of the nineteenth century and although the days of cholera were gone, Mian Mir was still very unhealthy. By April the heat was already oppressive and it was the practice, during the summer months, to send the women and children and half the battalion to Dalhousie, a hill station 7,000 feet up. The Leavers had, therefore, to pack a sufficient quantity of books and stationery in trunks whilst ensuring that the acting schoolmaster who remained was not bereft of supplies. In November they moved down from the hills to Rurki on the plains where, although not as hot as Lahore, temperatures were still uncomfortably high. Night school was particularly trying as the doors had to be kept open in spite of the problems caused by swarms of ants being attracted to the oil lamps.⁴⁸

In spite of the often arduous and monotonous nature of their duties many Army schoolmasters enjoyed their service days, as their memoirs suggest, and welcomed the opportunity they afforded for them and their families to experience life in parts of the world that they would not otherwise have seen, despite the disruption it entailed.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, their consistent belief that their endeavours were not fully recognized and hence not rewarded, led to an underlying resentment, although it is difficult to know how deep-rooted this was. A higher salary, improved pension and more generous allowances and, in particular, better promotion prospects, were constantly sought by Army schoolmasters. These would not only confer direct material

advantages but would also help to reflect the schoolmasters' worth in the eyes of the Army, as the following account of one recently appointed schoolmaster showed.

Pay, rank and promotion prospects

Sergeant Robert Kennedy had been appointed schoolmaster-sergeant at Chatham in June 1844. Because of the extensive nature of his duties his commanding officer sought permission for Sergeant Kennedy to be paid at the same rate as a staff sergeant, 2/6d, instead of his current 1/11d a day.⁵⁰ His request, however, was refused by the War Office on the grounds that he performed no more than the duties of a sergeant.⁵¹

The matter did not rest there for in July 1845 The Revd B G Curtois, the local chaplain, wrote to Gleig at the Chaplains' Department. He explained that Kennedy no longer wished to be a schoolmaster and pointed out that no sergeant would undertake such duties on a sergeant's pay only, particularly now that Article 12 of Queen's Regulations ordered that instruction in the adult school be free.⁵² This meant a loss of 10d a month from each man on the books to Sergeant Kennedy,⁵³ although this had varied considerably from regiment to regiment with some schoolmasters earning considerable sums over and above their normal pay.⁵⁴ As far as Sergeant Kennedy's case was concerned, Gleig immediately took it up with Sidney Herbert, the Secretary-at-War, requesting that Kennedy's appointment be regarded as a special case for, with up to 3,000 men to cater for, there was no comparable position in the Army.⁵⁵

Broadening the issue, Herbert agreed that good schoolmasters would not be obtained on the scant pay of a sergeant, and yet it was important that such men were found in view of the schools' increasing importance in preparing young men to become efficient NCOs. He identified two ways in which the pay of the schoolmaster could be increased: either simply to increase his salary or to revert to the practice of augmenting his basic pay with fees paid by the soldier. Herbert discounted the former option of increasing the schoolmaster's basic salary because of

the opposition it would encounter from the Treasury. The raising of a small fee from soldiers would overcome this, as well as enhancing the value of education, for 'men seldom set the same value on what they get for nothing as on that for which they pay'. It might also, he added, encourage the schoolmaster to ensure better adult attendance at school; at present no such incentive existed.⁵⁶ These arguments were accepted by the Commander-in-Chief; Queen's Regulations were amended and payment was re-introduced in 1845 at the standard rate of 4d a month for privates, 6d for corporals and 8d for sergeants.⁵⁷

When the Corps of Army Schoolmasters was formed in the following year, 1846, these payments continued but were now credited to the public. The schoolmaster's pay was set at 2/6 a day, that is £45 a year, the sum requested by Sergeant Kennedy two years earlier, with an additional 1d a day beer money and the prospect of an increase of 6d a day for efficiency and good conduct.⁵⁸ Very soon, however, the old arguments in favour of the schoolmaster receiving a portion of the fees reappeared and prevailed, and in 1850 he received from the paymaster three-quarters of the receipts as well as an allowance for instructing or superintending the instruction of the female children.⁵⁹ Only four years later, the system was reviewed once again as part of the wide-ranging reforms of 1854 which were, to some extent, a recognition of the esteem in which the new Corps was held.

Fox-Maule (later Lord Panmure), the Secretary-at-War, reported to the Committee on Military Expenditure in 1850 that the number of adult scholars rose considerably in places where a trained schoolmaster had been appointed, to such an extent that the schoolmasters complained of being overworked and having no time to themselves.⁶⁰ A number of commanding officers too were full of praise for the results so quickly achieved. Lieutenant-Colonel T Browne of the 21st Fusiliers, who had received one of the first of the new masters, had 700 men under his command and he reported that some men had been able, for the first time, to fit themselves for promotion; others had learned to write; less time was spent in public houses and the number of

defaulters had diminished considerably. The schoolmaster himself was behaving admirably and Colonel Browne thought that the new education system was, next to the good conduct warrant, 'the greatest boon the Army has received since I joined it'.⁶¹ This remark was no doubt the result of unfortunate phraseology rather than any arrogance on the part of Colonel Browne.

Such views implied that members of the Corps were held in high regard, although the new regulations of 1854 were not perhaps as altruistic as they might appear, as a letter from Herbert to the Treasury in January of that year indicated.⁶² Herbert began by explaining that about half of the schoolmaster's emoluments consisted of a fixed salary and the remainder fluctuated with the amount of fees. Whilst it had been hoped that this system would have had the effect of stimulating the schoolmaster to increased exertion by making his income dependent upon his own zeal and energy, this apparently had not proved to be the case. In practice, the numbers attending the regimental school depended far more upon the commanding officer than upon the schoolmaster himself, with the result that some of the best instructors were receiving much less than others who were inferior to them. As a result, a number of schoolmasters asked to be transferred to 'a better regiment', where the attendance was larger and the remuneration consequently greater. Herbert believed that such a system was disruptive for the schools, and unfair and capricious as far as the schoolmaster was concerned. He also pointed out that it provided the schoolmaster with little incentive to increase his endeavours for he had no promotion prospects, and this had led some to neglect their duties. Herbert decided, therefore, to change the whole system to one that rewarded merit and was more equitable.

Four classes of Army schoolmaster were introduced in 1854: the first class ranked as warrant officers and were senior even to the sergeant-major, the second and third classes as staff sergeants, next below the sergeant-major, and the fourth consisted of assistant schoolmasters, ranking as sergeants who were usually posted to a garrison school for a probationary

period of two years before returning to Chelsea for further training. Promotion from one class to another was to be on the recommendation of the Inspector-General of Army Schools and dependent on merit only. Pay was raised to 7/-, 5/6, 4/- and 2/- a day for each of the four classes respectively, and should a schoolmaster be accepted for re-enlistment after ten years he would receive an extra 1/- a day.⁶³ The schoolmaster lost the fees he had formerly received, together with the allowance for teaching the girls, but the rates of pay were now fixed and this tended to increase his means as well as to make his income no longer subject to fluctuation. Furthermore, he could now urge men to attend school without being accused of trying to improve his own financial position, thus earning him more respect.⁶⁴

At the same time the Army schoolmaster's pension, to which he was already entitled, was increased. Prior to the reforms of 1854, this had amounted to 'that of a sergeant plus 6d a day, when placed on the Pension List'.⁶⁵ This was now graded according to the class of schoolmaster. The pension of a first class Army schoolmaster would be that of sergeant-major with an additional 6d a day; for the second class, the same as a sergeant-major; for the third class, 6d a day in addition to that of a sergeant, and finally the assistant schoolmaster would receive the pension of a sergeant. This meant that, after 21 years' service, a first class and second class Army schoolmaster could retire on 3/6 and 3/- a day respectively, that is, just under half of their pay, provided that they had held that rank for three years. Third class schoolmasters received 2/6 a day, half pay, provided that they had held that rank for five years.⁶⁶ The schoolmaster was also entitled to accommodation, but should no special quarters be provided in connection with the school, he was entitled to one room if single and two if married together with fuel, light and furniture. If no suitable accommodation was available at all, he could claim a lodging allowance, ranging from 8/6 a week for a second or third class master to 10/- for a first class schoolmaster.⁶⁷

The development of the Corps into a professional body was also marked by changes in uniform. Instead of wearing the uniform of

his regiment, or the semi-civilian outfit of blue frock-coat, grey trousers and military cap, all now adopted a standard uniform comprising a blue frock-coat, heavily braided in black with gold shoulder knots; a sword and crimson sash and a cap with scarlet band bearing a crown in gold thread. Schoolmasters of the first, second and third classes wore three, two and one gold stars, respectively, on either side of their collars. Assistant schoolmasters had no shoulder knots, collar stars or crown on their cap, and wore a silk girdle instead of the sash.

One might have expected that such a splendid uniform, together with improved pay, pensions and allowances, would have raised the schoolmasters' morale, and in some cases perhaps it did. But one senior Army schoolmaster, W B Kemshead, was far from happy with his conditions of service, as he explained in his annual report in March 1861, which was long and incisive and clearly the result of long and bitter experience. Kemshead pointed out that very soon his 10 year engagement would be completed and so he disclaimed any personal interest in improving his situation, but argued vociferously as to why the schoolmaster's conditions of service and the education system itself were inefficient and what could be done to improve them. As far as the former was concerned, he drew particular attention to the inadequacy of his pension, which would have been less than half pay after 21 years' service,⁶⁸ and to the lack of provision for his wife and family in the event of his death.⁶⁹ But important as such financial questions were to Kemshead and indeed to all Army schoolmasters, arguably they were not the most important, for Kemshead drew attention to two separate, although inter-related issues: the social isolation of the schoolmaster and the impossibility of him rising beyond warrant rank, which lowered his status. Kemshead believed that the position of the Army schoolmaster was a particularly difficult one for he could not readily identify with any particular group. He was not a commissioned officer and could not, therefore, associate himself with that class and yet he often had little in common, largely because of his educational background, with non-commissioned officers of which he was one.

One tangible illustration of this anomalous position was that there was always a problem in finding the schoolmaster accommodation on board ship, for he was entitled to 'intermediate' accommodation which rarely existed. The same problem also occurred on rail transport for again the second class accommodation was seldom supplied. Such situations invariably led to complaints and discontent and, as a result, some commanding officers allowed the schoolmaster to travel with the officers whilst others put them in with the men.⁷⁰ Kemshead explained the schoolmaster's dilemma thus

He is sufficiently raised above the non-commissioned officers in pay, quarters etc, and especially in education and tastes, to justify him in considering himself above them and standing aloof; but not so much as to command their respect or prevent their drawing invidious comparisons between his advantages and theirs. The same is true to a certain extent with respect to the schoolmaster and the officer. The former is too well paid, has too good quarters, too many privileges, too much independence, for any one not holding commissioned rank.⁷¹

In many respects Army schoolmasters were in a similar situation to that of civilian elementary teachers, as The Revd James Fraser, one of the Assistant Commissioners appointed by the Newcastle Commission, found when he investigated the state of elementary education in the agricultural areas of the West Country. He concluded that the social position of the well-trained and cultivated teacher, especially in the country villages, was a difficult one; it was hard to point to a class which he could associate with and find enjoyable although, he added, there were many occupations which suffered from a similar disadvantage.⁷²

The superior education that both military and civilian schoolmasters received not only increased their social isolation but also led to dissatisfaction at the very elementary nature of their work. Fraser was told that, thrown amongst people of inferior education, the teachers found the children backward and their task irksome.⁷³ Army schoolmasters felt the same, Kemshead finding the continuously rudimentary nature of most teaching to

be a 'task of great drudgery'. Indeed, he believed that the Army schoolmaster was over-trained for the duties that he had to perform. 'Fresh from the mysteries of conic sections', he was 'altogether above teaching the simple rules of arithmetic'; it was like 'employing a razor to cut wood'.⁷⁴

Kemshead was not, of course, suggesting that the training that Army schoolmasters received should be reduced. He was simply explaining one of the reasons for their dissatisfaction, whilst at the same time pointing out that their talents were being wasted although, given the low standard of education throughout the Army at this time, it is difficult to see how their abilities could have been better utilized. Others agreed that schoolmasters were over-educated but drew different conclusions. Reporting the findings of the Newcastle Commission, the Quarterly Review believed that 'the Privy Council have been long manufacturing razors for the purpose of cutting blocks, and in future the instrument must be better adapted for its purpose',⁷⁵ whilst the Edinburgh Review believed that in all, 'the whole system of popular education has been pitched too high'.⁷⁶ As far as Army schools were concerned, some senior officers agreed.

General H Eyre, for example, serving at Chatham in the early 1860s, was inclined to think that the 'experienced old sergeant of limited knowledge', was better able to train men up to the comparatively low standard required to make them good NCOs, than the 'more learned young Chelsea student, who is naturally ambitious of producing something which may do credit to his high attainments'. These learned young men, moreover, were now superior in dress and pay to the majority of NCOs in the garrison and this led the schoolmasters to be looked upon with some feeling of envy and dislike, their conduct and manner encouraging this.⁷⁷ In the view of Colonel F P Dunne MP, the young men completing their course at the Normal School were 'the most insubordinate set of men that could be found anywhere'.⁷⁸ Overall, like their civilian colleagues, Army schoolmasters were considered to be arrogant and conceited, attempting to ape their betters in dress and to improve their social position.

The result, Kemshead believed, was that Army schoolmasters were 'the most unpopular body in the whole service, being regarded by commanding officers as a nuisance, by officers generally as upstarts and by NCOs and men as being paid too well and having too many privileges, and consequently think too much of themselves'. In all, the schoolmaster was 'neither fish, flesh nor fowl, disowned by all, having affinity with none' and thus exciting the prejudice of every class. In Kemshead's opinion these difficulties could be largely resolved by defining more clearly the rank and hence the status of the schoolmaster. He proposed that a proportion of the Corps hold commissioned officer status, whilst the remainder remain sergeants and, as such, be eligible in due course for promotion to commissioned officer rank. He was confident that Army schoolmasters would sooner accept the rank of sergeant with the possibility of promotion, than continue as at present, with the 'impassable barrier' to commissioned rank and 'the exclusion of all hope'.⁷⁹

In his report of 1859, Lefroy had agreed that the position of warrant officer rank was inadequate in relation to the growing responsibilities of the more senior schoolmasters and, in consequence, further changes were made in 1863. Under new regulations of that year the classification of Army schoolmaster was simplified to just two categories: superintending schoolmaster and schoolmaster. The former, reflecting the increased size of his responsibilities and inspection duties, was given the rank of ensign, the first time that an Army schoolmaster had been granted commissioned officer status.⁸⁰ But as only 18 posts of superintending schoolmaster were established, the chances of attaining that rank were slight, as discussed in Chapter 8.⁸¹ Nevertheless, the opportunity was there for the more able and ambitious to be promoted to the inspectorate side of the Corps' work, something which was largely denied to their civilian counterparts. The latter bitterly resented this door being closed to them and open only to young men from the universities who had no experience or knowledge of elementary schooling. Giving evidence to the Newcastle Commission, John Snell, an experienced teacher then teaching near Yeovil, asked,

'How many of them knew anything of the education of the poor prior to their engagement as Inspectors?' He was sure that some of them had never been inside an elementary school until they were required to report upon one and, he continued, of all the inspectors, he did not 'know of one who had obtained his appointment because of his experience, his love of the work, or his peculiar fitness for it'.⁸² The fact that no such charges could be levelled against the Army school inspector perhaps goes some way to explaining the apparent absence of hostility felt towards him by fellow members of the Corps.

The loss of warrant rank in 1863 caused deep resentment as it had been a source of much pride; it not only conferred material benefits such as superior accommodation but, above all, status. It is interesting to speculate as to why warrant officer status was withdrawn. One pragmatic reason, as the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cambridge, pointed out, was that the rank itself had been virtually abolished in the Army by this time. He also believed that it might prejudice discipline in the regiment for it stood between the commissioned officer and the regimental sergeant-major which was the normal line of communication in the unit. He also suggested, perhaps more significantly, that the holding of such rank by Army schoolmasters might lead to presumption on their part,⁸³ a view endorsed by Major A Pitcairn who had forwarded Kemshead's report to the Council of Military Education in 1861.

As far as Pitcairn was concerned, the Army schoolmaster had risen above his station and vocation and was becoming divorced from the social class that he was engaged to teach. Although he was prepared to concede higher rank to inspectors, Pitcairn firmly believed that all regimental schoolmasters should rank as staff-sergeants; receive their pay and allowances and, furthermore, wear the distinguishing stripes of the NCO on his uniform.⁸⁴ Under the new regulations of 1863, there were changes in the schoolmaster's dress, the military authorities believing that it too closely resembled that of officers, with the result that young recruits often mistakenly saluted the schoolmaster in

the belief that he was a commissioned officer. The schoolmaster's uniform was accordingly simplified and now comprised a plain frock-coat with rank indicated by black chevrons, which was thought to be more in keeping with his position.⁸⁵ At the same time there were also significant changes to his salary.

Under the former division of Army schoolmasters into four classes, pay rises were conditional upon promotion from one class to another. Under the new regulations of 1863, in which the various classes of schoolmaster had been abolished, increases in pay became dependent upon length of service as well as a favourable report. The schoolmaster would now receive a biennial increase of 6d a day automatically, provided that he received a satisfactory report.⁸⁶ What perhaps was most interesting was the fact that now the trained schoolmaster received 3/- a day on appointment, that is 1/- a day less than before. When putting forward its proposals on pay and rank structure, the Council of Military Education had highlighted the fact that at first joining the schoolmaster had received 6d a day more than even the sergeant-major and this, together with his officer-like dress and educational acquirements, had contributed to his 'extreme isolation' in the regiment.⁸⁷ One could suggest, therefore, that these new regulations concerning promotion, pay and dress were introduced, on the one hand, to give due recognition to the work of senior masters but, on the other hand, to assign to the junior members of the Corps a more appropriate position within the regiment and thus, hopefully, assuage some of the resentment felt towards them.

When the Royal Commission into Military Education reported in 1870, it concluded that some of the alleged grievances of Army schoolmasters were more imaginary than real, and some of the circumstances complained of were necessary conditions of military life.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, it did concede that the present position of the Army schoolmaster was unlikely to be attractive to potential applicants and, whilst it was not prepared to recommend the revival of warrant rank, it did propose that there be some

changes to his designation and pay. As already discussed in Chapter 8, superintending schoolmasters were re-designated sub-inspectors to reflect more accurately their increasing inspection duties.⁸⁹ At the same time, their pay was increased from 7/- to 10/- a day on first appointment and they were entitled to retire on full pay after 30 years' service, provided that at least 10 had been served at that level.⁹⁰ Similarly, the pay of the schoolmaster was raised, from 3/- to 4/- basic pay rising to a maximum of 7/-, with a pension of half-pay after 21 years' service.⁹¹ In recommending these rates of pay the Commissioners had been guided to some extent by salaries offered to civilian teachers. The Army schoolmaster received accommodation, fuel and light, as well as clothing and rations and the prospect of a pension; on the other hand, the frequent moves involved considerable expense, which did not fall upon his civilian colleague. The pay proposed for an Army schoolmaster on first appointment was £73 a year in addition to which he received contingent allowances amounting to about £14/10, giving a total effective salary of £87/10. The Commissioners understood that a trained national school teacher received between £100 and £105, but this was fixed, whereas the Army schoolmaster had the prospect of periodic increases in his pay and a pension on retirement.⁹²

Nevertheless, Army schoolmasters continued to feel aggrieved over their conditions of service and they continued to strive for their improvement, although it is probably fair to say that they felt less bitter than in Kemshead's day in the 1860s. Certainly pay was no longer the most significant issue, if it ever had been.⁹³ Giving evidence before the Harris Committee in 1887, Army Schoolmaster W Holmes, a former civilian teacher, stated that in London the pay of a civil master was much better than an Army schoolmaster, but that had to be offset against 'no hope' of a pension, which in his case would be 3/6d a day after 21 years' service and 4/6d after 30 years.⁹⁴ Schoolmaster Blackman who, it will be recalled, joined the Corps at the turn of the century, was evidently attracted by the salary that he would receive,⁹⁵ and Schoolmaster W R Leaver, who also joined at about the same

time, believed that the Army salary compared favourably with civilian ones.

On completion of his probationary period in 1898 Leaver received as a staff sergeant, 4/- a day plus allowances for lodging, fuel, light and uniform which gave him he said about £120 a year.⁹⁶ Assistants under the London School Board he believed received £90 a year and, he added, London paid well in comparison with the rest of the country. His father, who was head of a church school at the time, was earning little more than Leaver himself.⁹⁷ It is probably fair to conclude, as did the Inter-Departmental Committee Report on Army Schools in 1901, that the continued difficulties of recruitment could not be attributed to inadequate salaries, although it accepted that it was difficult to compare the Army schoolmaster's pay with that of his civilian counterpart.⁹⁸ Perhaps it had more to do with promotion prospects, or the lack of them.

As will be recalled, the loss of warrant rank had been a major blow to Army schoolmasters, and so the establishment of a common rank of warrant officer in 1881, which included Army schoolmasters who had completed 12 years' service,⁹⁹ was very much welcomed. During the next decade this was reduced to just eight years' service¹⁰⁰ and in 1899 a limited number were promoted to first class warrant officer when that rank was introduced. These changes, however, were not without their drawbacks. By the early years of the twentieth century it had become evident that with a number of first class warrant officers serving on until the age of 55, as they were encouraged to do given the Corps' recruiting difficulties, promotion would be slow. This had a demoralizing effect upon the lower ranks, the more so because only those who attained first class warrant rank before the age of 45 were eligible for promotion to a commission.¹⁰¹ It was this that had led Schoolmaster Fox to buy himself out of the Army after just five and a half years' service.¹⁰²

In conclusion, it would be fair to suggest that by the early twentieth century, as indeed ever since the formation of the

Corps of Army Schoolmasters in 1846, financial remuneration was not the crucial factor in determining whether or not the Army schoolmaster was content with his lot. It was certainly important, for any increase in pay and allowances raised the schoolmaster's standard of living, but arguably what was far more significant was the rank that he held and could aspire to. Admittedly, promotion brought its financial rewards, but these were secondary in comparison to the status that higher rank bestowed. This had improved, for by the turn of the century all Army schoolmasters were ranked as first class staff-sergeants from the day that they took office¹⁰³ and subsequently they could attain warrant officer and commissioned officer status. This in turn appears to have raised their general standing within the regiment as the official reports as well as the memoirs of the schoolmasters themselves suggest. Writing in 1889, the Director-General of Military Education stated that the schoolmaster was very much respected and 'looked up to' on account of his active interest in all aspects of regimental life.¹⁰⁴ Schoolmaster S L Meckiff agreed. In his opinion, the schoolmaster was always considered by the colonel of the regiment as a man of the highest integrity; it was noteworthy that at the regimental balls the colonel's first dance was always with the Army schoolmaster's wife.¹⁰⁵

Yet in spite of all these improvements in their conditions of service, the Army schoolmasters' raison d'etre was elementary education and this was unlikely in the short term to win for them the recognition, and thus the social position, that they sought. The outbreak of war in 1914 was to transform the role of Army education and to lead ultimately to the establishment of a new and enlarged Army Educational Corps in which the role and status of its members were greatly enhanced.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 9

1. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, Appendix II, p.78.
2. This amounted to a mere four weeks at the RMA, Chelsea. See Chapter 2, pp.56-60.
3. Tropp A, The School Teachers. The Growth of the Teaching Profession in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day (1957), p.35.
4. 'The Educational Expositor', 1853. Quoted here in Tropp, ibid., p.36.
5. Blackman W, 'Reminiscences of the Retired', in Journal of the Army Educational Corps, vol. XX, no.3, September 1946.
6. Ibid., loc.cit.
7. Ibid., loc.cit.
8. Brigadier C A Wilson, recorded interview. RAEC Archives. See also, Chapter 10, p.329, footnote 29.
9. Ruthven W J, 'Memoirs of an Army Schoolmaster', c.1920. RAEC Archives.
10. Report of the Committee on Army Schools, 1904 (under the chairmanship of Colonel H Bowles, AAG, Army Schools, hereafter referred to as The Bowles Report), p.6 & Army School Regulations, 1906, para.45.
11. Army School Regulations, 1857, para.39.
12. Leaver W R, 'Reminiscences of W R Leaver, 1898-1919'. Undated. RAEC Archives.
13. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Army Schools, 1901 (under the chairmanship of J R Dasent, hereafter referred to as The Dasent Report), p.2 & Minutes of

Evidence. To this day, members of the AGC(ETS) are not paid for evening classes that they run for the same reasons as in the late nineteenth century.

14. Army School Regulations, 1854, para.44.
15. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xx.
16. In some respects this decision reflected civilian practice, where masters were not allowed to take on the supervision of pupil-teachers if they had private pupils. See Tropp, op.cit., p.32.
17. As discussed in Chapter 4, pp.104-105, these were young men from the Asylum at Chelsea who were temporarily attached to garrisons or regiments to assist the schoolmaster and to increase their own knowledge and experience in teaching. If they performed satisfactorily they returned to the Normal School at Chelsea for further training.
18. Army School Regulations, 1854, para.3.
19. This practice of assistant or fourth class schoolmasters being sent to regimental schools for experience, prior to attending the course at the Normal School at the RMA, Chelsea, ceased by the mid-1860s. Nevertheless, when the Normal School closed in 1887, prospective Army schoolmasters were then required to undertake their probationary year at a regimental or garrison school under the supervision of an experienced Army schoolmaster. See Chapter 4, pp.116-117.
20. Where there was an assistant schoolmaster, soldier assistants were appointed on the following scale: one to every 130 soldiers on the register; two to every 180 and three to every 230. Where there was no assistant schoolmaster the scale was 60, 100 and 140 respectively. Army School Regulations, 1853, para. 48.

21. In 1871 the number of assistants was calculated 'according to the average attendance' of the previous month. See 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xxii & Royal Warrant, 30 August 1871. Allowances of Sub-Inspectors, Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses. MOD Library.
22. In 1872 the sum was increased to 4d a day for assistants and 6d for the senior assistant; in 1901 the sum was increased to 9d a day.
23. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, pp.19-20. See also Leaver, op.cit. RAEC Archives.
24. Since 1893 a special course had been offered at Aldershot to train soldier assistants. Army School Regulations, 1897, paras.46-53, stated that this comprised a six month course after which soldiers would not only sit the first class certificate of education but also be examined in reading, accounts, grammar up to Standard VI, writing on the blackboard and school management. After this they underwent a three month attachment in order to learn the art of teaching before being awarded, if successful, an acting schoolmaster's certificate. By 1910 the majority of acting schoolmasters and soldier assistants attended these courses, with approximately 250 acting schoolmasters' certificates awarded annually.
25. Since the early 1850s, soldiers had been trained as acting schoolmasters to assume the responsibility of schoolmaster to the depot companies when the regiment was posted overseas. Army School Regulations, 1853, para. 35.
26. Ibid., paras.35-36.
27. Cameron R J, 'Life of an Army Schoolmaster as seen through my Experiences, 1889-1920'. Undated. RAEC Archives.
28. The Dasent Report, 1901, p.2.

29. Leaver, op.cit. RAEC Archives.
30. See, for example, Chapter 8, p.239.
31. Standing Orders for Army Schools, Examiners and Teachers, 1900, para.5.
32. Army School Regulations, 1897, paras.31-32.
33. Royal Warrant, 24 July 1812. Appropriation and fitting up of a Suitable Room as a Schoolroom by the Barrack Commissioners. See Chapter 1, p.32.
34. PRO WO 43/819, f.342. Gleig to Treasury, 8 December 1845 & Hawkins T H & Brimble L J F, Adult Education. The Record of the British Army (1947), pp.17-18. See also Seaborne M, The English School, Its Architecture and Organization, 1370-1870 (1971), Chapter 10, & Chapter 3 of this thesis, pp.74-75.
35. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xvii.
36. RAEC Archives.
37. RA Ch D Museum.
38. Leaver, op.cit. RAEC Archives. The chapel-school at Portobello Barracks, Dublin, was Leaver's 'first and only experience' of a chapel-school, which suggests that by this time they were rare. He recalls how, during school sessions, a partition cut off the sanctuary, and that the desks were reversible so that they could be used as benches on Sundays.
39. School Regulations for the Guidance of Regiments, 1853, para.50.
40. 6th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1896, P.P., XVIII, 1896, pp.4-5.
41. 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P., XVI, 1893-4, p.6.

42. 6th Report by the C.M.E., 1870, P.P.,XXV,1870, Appendix II, no.15, p.109.
43. Ibid., Appendix II, no.8, p.43.
44. Hawkins & Brimble, op.cit., p.22.
45. Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms, 1859, p.27.
46. Ibid., Appendix I, no.9, p.162.
47. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, Appendix II, no.14, p.95.
48. Leaver, op.cit. RAEC Archives. Included in the baggage was Leaver's piano, for he was a capable pianist and had indeed entertained the idea of a musical career in his younger days. It survived the journey without damage despite being dropped by a party of coolies on arrival. Throughout his service Leaver put his musical talents to good use, running church services in Mian Mir and Dalhousie, and in later years running the choir at Bulford Camp, Salisbury Plain.
49. See, for example, the memoirs of Leaver and Cameron, op.cit. RAEC Archives.
50. Letter from Colonel T Weare to the Brigade Major, 12 November 1844. RA Ch D Centre.
51. Letter from WO to Commandant, Chatham, 26 December 1844. RA Ch D Centre.
52. Queen's Regulations, 1844, Article 12.
53. Letter from The Revd B G Curtois to Gleig, 22 July 1845. RA Ch D Centre.
54. In response to a Circular dated 22 April 1845 requesting details of allowances paid to schoolmasters by NCOs and soldiers, Herbert found that in half the units of the Army, their schoolmaster had received a monthly sum from

each pupil on the books, varying from 4d to 2/- for a private, and from 4d to 4/- for a sergeant.

55. Letter from Gleig to Herbert, Secretary-at-War, 13 August 1845. RA Ch D Centre.
56. Letter from Herbert, Secretary-at-War to the Commander-in-Chief, 9 September 1845. RA Ch D Centre.
57. Circular Memorandum from the Commander-in-Chief, September 1845. RA Ch D Centre.
58. Royal Warrant, 2 July 1846. Formation of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters. MOD Library.
59. Army School Regulations, 1850, para.20; Royal Warrant, 30 March 1850 & Regulations to be Observed in Regard to the Instruction of Children in Garrison and Regimental Schools, to which a Trained Schoolmaster has been, or may hereafter be, Appointed by the Secretary-at-War, 30 March 1850, para.7.
60. 'National Education', in Edinburgh Review, vol. XCV, no. 194, April 1852, pp. 321-357, at p.328.
61. Ibid., p.330, quoted from Fox-Maule's evidence to the Select Committee on Army and Ordnance Expenditure, 1850, P.P., X, 1850, pp.52-53.
62. Letter from Herbert to the Treasury, January 1854. RAEC Archives.
63. PRO WO 43/513, ff.293-295. Royal Warrant, 31 May 1854 & Army School Regulations, 1854, para.5.
64. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, Appendix II, no.4, pp.46-47.
65. Regulations for the Guidance of Regiments to which a Trained Schoolmaster is Appointed by the Secretary-at-War, 1850, para.16.

66. Army School Regulations, 1857, para.40.
67. Ibid., para.7.
68. At this time, the pay of a first class Army schoolmaster was 7/- a day, plus 1/- a day if he re-enlisted for a further term of service. After 21 years' service, of which at least three years' continuous service was in that class, he was entitled to a pension of 3/6 a day, i.e., 43% of pay. Ibid., paras.5 & 40.
69. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, Appendix II, no.8, pp.62-63. There is no mention of widows of Army schoolmasters receiving a pension until the 1880s when, in Army School Regulations, 1882, it was laid down that widows of schoolmasters who had ranked as warrant officers and who had served for five years in that rank, were eligible for a pension 'under certain conditions'. If widows of sub-inspectors who had served for 30 years, with ten in that rank, they were eligible for a pension and their children for allowances from the Compassionate Fund. It appears, therefore, that Army schoolmasters fared rather better than some of their military colleagues. In the Army generally, although it was normal practice to give a pension to officers' widows, little provision was made for widows or orphans of regular soldiers until the twentieth century. See Skelley A R, The Victorian Army at Home. The Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular, 1859-99 (1977), p.216.
70. Colonel A Herbert, local inspector of schools in Corfu. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, Appendix II, no.7, p.59.
71. Ibid., Appendix II, no.8, p.63.
72. Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England, 1861 (hereafter referred to as The Newcastle Report), Report by The Revd J Fraser, vol.II, p.95.

73. Ibid., loc.cit.
74. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, Appendix II, no.8, p.62.
75. 'Report of Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England', in Quarterly Review, vol.110, no.220, 1861, pp.485-516, at p.506.
76. 'Report of Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England, and the Reports of Assistant Commissioners, Evidence etc', in Edinburgh Review, vol. CXIV, no.231, July 1861, pp.1-38, at p.23.
77. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, Appendix II, no.10, pp.66-67. General Eyre had chaired the Committee looking into the provision of libraries and reading rooms in 1861. See Chapter 7, pp.209-210.
78. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Supply, Army Estimates, 24 March 1865, vol.CLXXVIII, col.256.
79. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, Appendix II, no.8, p.64.
80. Royal Warrant, 19 May 1863. Position and Pay of Army Schoolmasters. MOD Library.
81. See Chapter 8, p.236.
82. The Newcastle Report, 1861, vol V, Answers to the Circular of Questions, 1860, p.397.
83. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, Minutes of Evidence, Duke of Cambridge, paras.2,262-2,276.
84. 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, Appendix II, no.8, p.60.
85. 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, p.v.

86. Army School Regulations, 1863, para.4. The pay of trained Army schoolmasters was as follows:
Superintending schoolmaster: 7/- a day.
After 14 years' service, 5
in the rank: 8/- a day.
Schoolmaster on appointment: 3/- a day.
After 2 years' service: 3/6 a day.
After 4 years' service: 4/- a day.
and so on, up to a maximum
of 14 years' service: 6/6 a day.
87. Memorandum by the CME, 1861, in the 2nd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XXXIV, 1865, Appendix 1.
88. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xviii & pp.xx-xxi.
89. See Chapter 8, p.237. By 1882, sub-inspectors with ten years' service as such were given the title of inspector and the rank of captain. Army School Regulations, 1882, para.18.
90. The rates were reduced slightly for schoolmasters who had been a sub-inspector for a shorter period. All sub-inspectors had to retire at 60 years of age.
91. Royal Warrant, 30 August 1871. Allowances of Sub-Inspectors, Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses. MOD Library.
92. 2nd Report of the Royal Commission on Military Education, 1870, P.P., XXIV, 1870, p.xxi.
93. Kemshead, for example, complained over many issues, but pay was not one of them.
94. Report of the Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, 1887, Minutes of Evidence, pp.54-56.
95. See pp.264-265 of this chapter.

96. Leaver, op.cit. RAEC Archives.
97. Ibid., loc.cit.
98. The Dasent Report, 1901, p.1.
99. This meant that all schoolmasters who re-engaged beyond the 12 year point were automatically given the rank of warrant officer. Army School Regulations, 1882, Appendix II.
100. 6th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1896, P.P., XVIII, 1896, p.18.
101. Report on Army Schools, 1910 (under the chairmanship of C F N Macready, Director of Personal Services), pp.8-9. This problem was partially overcome by requiring first class warrant officers to leave once it was clear that they would not be promoted and they had qualified for the highest rate of pension.
102. See p.266 of this chapter & The Dasent Report, 1901, Minutes of Evidence, in manuscript and pages un-numbered.
103. Instructions for the Guidance of Candidates for Admission into the Army as Schoolmasters and for Admission into the Duke of York's Royal Military School at Chelsea and the Royal Hibernian Military School, Dublin, as Pupil Teachers, 1893, para.18.
104. 4th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1889, P.P., XVII, 1889, p.6.
105. Meckiff S L, 'Memoirs of Army Schoolmasters, Meckiff & Son, 1880-1933'. Undated. RAEC Archives.

CHAPTER 10: THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ARMY EDUCATIONAL CORPS

The outbreak of war in 1914 dispersed the Corps of Army Schoolmasters and brought education almost to a halt. And yet within six years, on 14 June 1920, King George V had signed the Royal Warrant which brought into existence the Army Educational Corps (AEC), which incorporated members of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters. Only 18 months elapsed between the end of the First World War and the founding of the Army Educational Corps, and it is true to say that the Corps was born out of that conflict and its education scheme. The momentum for this scheme came from a number of sources and, in particular, from the efforts of one man. Just as the Corps of Army Schoolmasters had owed its existence largely to the work of one individual, Gleig, so the wartime education scheme, which culminated in the founding of the AEC, can be attributed similarly to the endeavours of a single person, Colonel Lord Gorell. As Deputy Director of Staff Duties (Education) from August 1918 to May 1920, it was he who was primarily responsible for devising and implementing a worldwide scheme of education which was to be sustained into the peace.

This rise and development of the education movement in the British Armed Forces towards the end of the war and in the months that followed was described by the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction in its final report of 1919 as 'one of the most striking and unpredictable' events of the war.¹ Perhaps just as striking was the almost total absence, at least on the home front, of participation in this wartime education scheme by members of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters. They were ordered to continue their peacetime duties in the children's schools, the adults' schools having closed. In contrast, in India and some other stations overseas, Army schoolmasters often assumed new and usually non-educational responsibilities. At the end of the war they returned to their Department to find a new education system evolving in which their role was by no means established and their own future uncertain. The aim of this

chapter is to trace the growth of educational activity in its widest sense during the war years and their immediate aftermath, which culminated in the demise of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters after more than 70 years and the establishment of the AEC in 1920.

An education scheme for a citizen army

When war broke out in August 1914 all formal military adult education ceased and it was not until 1917 that any official sanction was given to education, and then only for the young soldier. Acutely aware of the need to change civilians into soldiers as quickly as possible, Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War, believed that all available time should be devoted to strictly military training, or to ensuring the physical health and comfort of the soldier through rest, recreation and sport. There was no similar concern about mental stagnation and hence no immediate effort to promote adult education. As Gorell said, 'there was for nearly two and a half years an almost complete absence of recognition that the young men entering the Army were possessed of minds, interests and prospects'.²

On the outbreak of war large numbers of men were called up and accommodated in makeshift camps with little to occupy spare time beyond the regimental 'gaff'. Even when the Home Commands had stabilized there was no effort at first to provide educational work apart from the occasional lecture on the course of the war. In France, conditions were even worse. On the Somme the soldiers could move only by night, and by day they had to keep well down in the muddy trenches; had they been able to stand up there was little to see but mud. When fighting was not taking place, tedium prevailed; indeed, 'apart from the hours of actually going over the top, nothing in the history of arms has ever been comparable to the drab monotony and weary labour of trench warfare'.³ Yet this was a conscript Army representing a cross-section of the population and included educated men, many of whom could not imagine life without reading material and were avid for news of home affairs and the war in general. The few newspapers available were heavily censored and books were rarely seen.

A variety of educational activities grew up spontaneously amongst the soldiers themselves, notably the production of trench journals. For example, when the 24th Division reached Ypres in February 1916 a group of soldiers found a tumbledown printing press in the cellar of what had been a stationer's shop. From this arose the idea of a trench journal for the division, and on 12 February 1916 the first edition of the Wipers Times was produced, which aimed at being interesting, amusing and edifying.⁴ To help meet the growing demand, General Headquarters (GHQ) France detailed in 1917 a staff officer, Captain D Borden-Turner, to organize lectures to supply 'such information on the current topics of the time as could be accurately gathered and safely given'.⁵ These proved to be so popular that GHQ asked for more systematic assistance from the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Even before 1914 the YMCA had taken a keen interest in the welfare of the soldier. Their tent had become an accepted feature of the summer training camps, providing a quiet area for reading and, in off-duty periods, concerts, lectures and services were held there too. It was natural, therefore, that when war broke out and formal education ceased, the YMCA would step in and fill the breach.

In 1915 a committee was established to develop the Association's educational work, with Dr William Temple, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, as chairman and Dr Basil Yeaxlee as secretary. But with demand rising, and at the same time the universities and other educational bodies providing instructors, it became increasingly necessary to coordinate their various activities. In 1918, the YMCA Universities Committee was set up representing all the universities of Great Britain, together with representatives from other professional and voluntary educational bodies. The YMCA bore the whole cost of the undertaking, with spending in the long run amounting to some £250,000. Such extensive participation in Army education by civilian educational bodies was another of the educational innovations of the war and, although it declined during the inter-war years, it was to become active again in 1939⁶ and to remain so this time following the cessation of hostilities.

When the Army formally launched its education scheme in September 1918, the YMCA was asked to look after the lines of communication, and the existence of the YMCA Universities Committee made it possible to draw at once upon home educational resources. Sir Henry Hadow,⁷ who was shortly to work with Gorell in devising the education scheme, was sent to France as YMCA Director of Education, with a sub-director at each base and an establishment of nearly 200 civilian lecturers and teachers qualified to teach a great variety of cultural and vocational subjects. The exigencies of the war made it difficult to organize consecutive lectures or classes and so much of the work consisted of single lectures but, where possible, such as at base camps, regular classes were conducted. For example, at Etaples early in 1918 over 1,000 men were studying the French language.⁸

Similar provision was also made on other fronts such as Italy, Egypt and Mesopotamia and, at the request of the British commandant, the Universities Committee provided educational facilities for officers and men interned in Holland. Of all the subjects requested, it is interesting to note that music, in particular, was in great demand everywhere; in France this was perhaps stimulated by Hadow's own interest in the subject. Sixteen highly qualified musicians were appointed as musical organisers in France and Holland, one Mr G Holst being sent to Salonika.⁹ In a letter to his wife on Christmas Day 1918, Holst wrote that he was overwhelmed both by the quantity and quality of the men who wanted music there.¹⁰ Undoubtedly all these activities were very much appreciated for they provided news, stimulated the mind and filled some of the hours of a long day, and in doing so must have helped to raise morale.

Meanwhile, at home, the obvious lack of maturity and education among some of the youngest recruits was attracting the attention of the Army Council. It realized that some form of educational training for these young men would be beneficial and that, unlike the short period available for adult training, the timescale was long enough to make such a scheme practicable, for the young soldier could not go overseas until he was 19. Under an Army Council Instruction of February 1917, all young soldiers under 18

years and eight months, 'AIV' men as they were known, were to receive elementary education as part of their training.

The type of education to be provided was the only kind known to the Army at the time, namely the old Army school system of elementary education. Nevertheless, a much more imaginative and ambitious version of this was begun in March 1917 in Brockton Camp, Cannock Chase, the aim of which was to provide a liberal education and to develop in the young soldiers intelligence, initiative, self-control and discipline. It attracted the attention of The Times, perhaps not surprisingly as A L Smith, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, was associated with it. In Gorell's words, his 'capacious mind quickly grasped the enormous potentialities of a real educational movement amongst the troops' and his 'unsatisfied zeal for education led him to throw himself warmly into the work'.¹¹ He had long been deeply interested in the adult education movement, particularly during his time at Balliol College before becoming Master there, and this interest was to be sustained when he was appointed chairman of the Adult Education Reconstruction Committee in 1917.

Although the initiative to raise the educational level of the young soldier had come from the military authorities, another and perhaps more persuasive stimulus for educational training came from the soldier himself, young and old alike, for the question of resettlement in the post-war period was a topic frequently and increasingly discussed. The anxiety of the individual was natural since there was no precedent in British history for a national conscript Army. Some had jobs to return to but many did not, and some of the young had never had a civilian job at all. As the war continued, and particularly after the Armistice, the citizen armies began looking forward to a return to civilian life and in consequence there was an urgent need to provide many with training which would assist them in taking up new employment.

The first authoritative step came from General Sir Douglas Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) in France, in the Spring of 1918. At GHQ, Borden-Turner was being inundated with requests for details of government publications on

resettlement and social issues and, as a result, Haig sent a directive to the General Staff to draw up a plan of education for the troops. Its aims were to give the soldier a wider view of his duties as a citizen of the Empire and to help prepare him for his return to civilian life after the war.¹² In one sense the moment was untimely since, with the defection of the Russians, an attack in the West by the now liberated German armies was expected and indeed quickly came. Nevertheless, the scheme got under way with the attachment of suitable officers to formations for educational purposes. Soon there were classes in a wide range of subjects as diverse as Chinese, Latin, music, engineering, accountancy, piano tuning and gardening. Implementation of the scheme was necessarily makeshift because of the lack of instructors and materials, but at least the work was now removed from its purely arbitrary and local beginnings. The need now was to coordinate the separate developments in Britain and France.

These two education schemes had developed side by side but were wholly unconnected, each, in typical English educational tradition, growing out of particular local needs and circumstances rather than being the outcome of a centrally imposed directive. Clearly, such direction was now precisely what was required, for in view of the heavy casualties and the consequent flow of drafts from Britain to France, continuity was essential. At a conference held at the War Office on 27 May 1918, it was decided to fuse the two schemes through the setting up of a central committee representing not only Army HQ in Great Britain and GHQ in France, but also the Board of Education and the Ministries of Labour and Reconstruction. The inclusion of these civilian organizations ensured that beyond considering the immediate military aims of the war, any scheme devised would include training for those whose education had been terminated by the war and preparation for post-war resettlement in civilian life. There was also a need for a fixed point of reference, within the Army and the War Office, for other ministries and the YMCA, and so Gorell, who had represented GHQ France at the above meeting, was appointed to the War Office as 'captain, attached Staff Duties 4 in charge of the direction and

coordination of the educational scheme of the Army'.¹³ General C Bonham-Carter, who was in charge of the training branch at GHQ France, had selected Gorell as the person best qualified for the post. He pointed out that Gorell was familiar with the ideas and views of GHQ on the subject of education, and that his time as platoon commander and adjutant of a battalion in the trenches had made him aware of what was practicable in the infantry and what was not.

Within weeks of this appointment, Gorell had presented Lord Milner, the Secretary of State for War and also a personal friend, with his draft plan which was fully endorsed. Gorell was lucky in enjoying not only Milner's support but in being able to draw on a wide circle of friends in the Army, the universities and the voluntary bodies. Very soon he found himself at the head of a new War Office branch, Staff Duties 8, (SD8), holding the rank of colonel and rather cumbersome and, to civilian ears, obscure title of Deputy Director of Staff Duties, Education. Initially, Gorell had proposed that there be a separate education department within the War Office, but he soon recognized that it would be preferable for it to remain a part of the Directorate of Staff Duties. Education had come to be associated with this directorate, and if it followed an independent path it could be 'frozen out' or overshadowed among the larger, purely military directorates.¹⁴

By the end of September 1918, SD8 had drawn up and promulgated a scheme in which Army education was for the first time officially recognized as part of military training during wartime. Army Order 295 of 24 September 1918,¹⁵ covering Britain, France and Italy, was extended by a further order in December to include Egypt and Salonika. Since the Army was composed of men and women of all ages and all scholastic levels, no methods were prescribed, only three principles on which education was to be organized. These were: to raise morale by providing mental stimulation; to broaden and quicken intelligence, both by stimulating the desire for study and by giving men a wider realization of their duties as citizens of the British Empire, and to help them find employment after the war. There was to be

no discrimination in respect of rank, since the educational standards of many private soldiers were 'little, if at all, inferior to those of officers'. Participation in the scheme was to be voluntary, except for the young soldier, but the armies in the field were ordered to set aside time for men who evinced an interest in study.

During the war, large though the total numbers had become, only a small proportion of the men under arms had time or inclination to avail themselves of the education facilities offered. After 11 November almost all had an abundance of time and the majority a strong desire to utilize such facilities. It was during this period that the value of an educational programme was seen by everyone: the officers and men who needed it and the controlling authorities in whose power it was to provide it. The Army Order of 9 December 1918 reflected this by stating that 'educational training can no longer be regarded as a secondary consideration, and as much time as can be made available from the necessities of military service should now be devoted to it'.¹⁶ This stands in sharp contrast to the attitude that prevailed in 1914, and made the likelihood of a permanent scheme of educational training after the war more probable.

'Education' officers from the General Staff were appointed to implement the scheme and were selected, whenever possible, from those with previous relevant experience. Those who had been teachers in civilian life were amongst the first to be considered, as one would have expected, although excessive reliance on this source could endanger the scheme for they were likely to be demobilized early. This was precisely what happened. In December 1918, it was announced that the whole of Class 43, consisting of teachers and students, could claim demobilization immediately. Within a matter of days, a further order was issued which authorized extra-duty pay or promotion for those officers and men employed as educational instructors. By this means, many teachers, who were not particularly anxious to return to civilian life immediately, were induced to remain in the Service and support the scheme.¹⁷

The scheme was necessarily a flexible one, depending on local facilities and interests, and covered subjects of a general and vocational nature. Courses offered included political economy; technical and applied science; commercial subjects; agricultural science; drawing, art and design; practical trades such as carpentry, plumbing and electricity, as well as the more traditional academic subjects.¹⁸ Soldiers were free to select those subjects that suited their individual requirements, although they were encouraged to include ones of a general educational nature, especially civics, as well as those that were more vocationally orientated. This would make them 'better fitted to take their place in the life of the community' as well as more likely to secure employment. Active Service Certificates were issued to provide each man with a record of courses attended and standards attained, which might further assist him in finding appropriate employment later. A Special Army Certificate of Education, shown at Appendix V, was issued to those who had completed courses and passed examinations in a range of subjects at an advanced level.¹⁹ These certificates were accepted by the universities and a number of professional bodies, including the General Medical Council; the Institution of Civil Engineers and the London Association of Accountants, in place of matriculation or the corresponding professional examination.²⁰

To support the scheme in the field, SD8, which included Hadow as its Assistant Director, provided outline lectures, textbooks and circulars, the latter being used extensively by the Ministries of Labour and Reconstruction as a means of disseminating information on employment opportunities and training schemes. In order to stimulate the supply of instructors, Schools of Education were opened late in 1918 at Trinity and Hertford Colleges, Oxford and at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.²¹ An interesting feature of the Oxford School was that Albert Mansbridge, who had founded the Workers' Educational Association in 1903 and the World Association for Adult Education in 1918, was one of the instructors.²² These intensive one month courses were vital in training regimental officers to become instructors, for the scheme envisaged a teaching staff proportionate to the number of

troops in a given area. It included the appointment of education officers and instructors to hospitals where much importance was attached to educational work, for unless patients' minds were occupied they were 'in danger of being enervated by Hospital life and of sinking into a condition of apathy...' 23

As the demobilization programme gained momentum, the work of Army education was necessarily modified to deal with the smaller and more easily handled numbers of the Armies of Occupation. The value of education to the soldier training for war or on active service had been clearly demonstrated; now attention was focused on providing education for men who made up the occupation forces. A new order of March 1919 authorized establishments to deal with educational training in the Home Armies, the Army of the Rhine, the Middle East, the forces in Italy and troops in France and Flanders. Apart from the young soldier, education was voluntary, as it had been throughout the war. Unfortunately, it was not possible to provide extensive technical training in units, and to meet the needs of young soldiers whose apprenticeships had been interrupted by the call up, corps and divisional schools and GHQ colleges were formed so that these young soldiers would not be too seriously disadvantaged in their return to civilian life. In Germany three GHQ colleges were established. The first to open was GHQ General and Commercial College in Cologne in January 1919, followed by GHQ Science College in Bonn, in March, and three months later GHQ College, Siegburg, which concentrated on technical education. To enable the student to continue his studies on returning to his unit after his course, a GHQ Correspondence School was also opened.²⁴

The wartime role of members of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters

One may ask why, since there was such an acute shortage of instructors, members of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters had not become involved in the wartime education scheme. One reason was that members of the old Corps, which comprised just 27 inspectors and approximately 300 schoolmasters in 1914, were too few in number and too widely dispersed to make a significant contribution to the emerging education scheme. As W T Lunt, who

served as an infantry officer and later in the Royal Engineers before transferring to the AEC in 1920, recalled, he had not even known of the existence of Army schoolmasters until they became integrated into the new corps in 1920.²⁵ A further reason was that at the outbreak of war the majority of Army schoolmasters, especially those at home, were ordered to continue their peacetime function. If they had been allowed to go abroad with fighting units, many of the garrison schools would have had to close. Consequently, when the new education scheme was announced in 1918, many schoolmasters were tied to their regular duties with children, the adult schools having closed. There was really no alternative, for the Corps of Army Schoolmasters came under the Adjutant-General, and to have removed them from their work in schools would have involved long negotiations and delays, and endless arrangements on behalf of the children's schools at home and abroad.²⁶ However, as the adult schools had been closed there was no objection to some Army schoolmasters assuming a new range of duties, usually cipher work or the superintendence of offices in military headquarters.

The high standard of their work led some senior regimental officers to recommend that a number of Army schoolmasters be commissioned, or be allowed to transfer to fighting units, but throughout the war the War Office flatly refused any proposal of this kind. There was, it was explained, a responsibility for educating children and the enlisted boys, and on the return to peace the schoolmaster would have a special role to play in assisting the Army to return to the status quo. When Schoolmaster R J Cameron sought a commission, he was told by the War Office not to pursue the matter or disciplinary action would be taken.²⁷ Applications to transfer to fighting units were continuously rejected in all but a few cases. One schoolmaster who was allowed to transfer was Charles Skeffington Quin.

Quin had joined the infantry during the Boer War before transferring to the Corps of Army Schoolmasters in August 1903. In 1914, wishing to take a more active part in the war, he enlisted as a private in the infantry, was decorated for gallantry and was commissioned in the field. In November 1920 he transferred to the newly-formed AEC as one of its founder

members.²⁸ Why Quin was allowed to leave the Corps of Army Schoolmasters in 1914 when others were not is not known. Perhaps it was simply that he applied at an early stage of the war before the authorities, faced with a growing number of such requests, felt that the trend had to be checked.²⁹

Whilst Quin had received permission to transfer, others did so without consent. In Jamaica, for example, the young schoolmaster there had taken a trip to Canada and had not returned,³⁰ and the year before, Schoolmaster J Nelson, later Colonel Nelson MC, had also gone absent without leave. In 1915, as an Army schoolmaster serving in Colchester, he walked out and enlisted in the Irish Guards as John Elliott, but within a year his true identity was found out and he was held in open arrest for two months. He was allowed to remain with the Irish Guards, although he had to forfeit all previous service and pay £8 for loss of kit - presumably his schoolmaster's uniform that he had left behind in Colchester.³¹ Perhaps not surprisingly, in 1916, a paragraph in King's Regulations, dealing with the documents of deserters and soldiers guilty of improper enlistment, was amended to bring Army schoolmasters within its scope. This amendment might have been seen as a shameful matter by some, but it was welcomed by many in the Corps of Army Schoolmasters, for it marked the success of those who had managed to join combatant units, in which some had served with distinction. Certainly a greater number might have been released to undertake more challenging work and those that were released performed their duties well. This was exemplified by those members of the Corps serving in the Empire, and especially India, where the attitude of the government there was very different from that of London.

In India, Army schoolmasters were employed freely in non-educational duties by the Commander-in-Chief, when required. The Cipher Section at Army Headquarters, Simla, in India and at GHQ, Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force, were each manned by eight Army schoolmasters with an officer in charge. When their employment was questioned by the War Office, the reply given was that, whereas it took others three months to be trained, it took

Army schoolmasters only half that time to reach the requisite standard of efficiency. Even so, on transfer to the Cipher Section, schoolmasters were required to sign that they had 'volunteered for active service'. Many of them enrolled as riflemen in the Simla Volunteer Rifles and were subsequently sent to the Middle East as cipherists. The work of those schoolmasters transferred to Baghdad was later recognized when five of them received decorations and two were mentioned in Dispatches.³² For the majority of Army schoolmasters, there were to be no such opportunities nor recognition.

The refusal of the War Office to allow Army schoolmasters to transfer galled many of them. They had to stay at their routine classroom work whilst their combatant friends went off to France, and what was even more exasperating was seeing elementary school teachers from civilian life rising to commissioned rank and on to captaincies and higher. In contrast, as Gorell pointed out, the Army schoolmaster found himself deprived of the distinction of fighting for his country and also relatively penalized in a particularly aggravating way for having joined the Army in the days of peace. Nor was there anyone in a position of real authority to speak on their behalf, for the Corps, together with the Schoolmistresses' Department, was still controlled by AG4b, a small sub-section of one of the departments of the Directorate of Personal Services, one of the Adjutant-General's directorates. AG4b comprised a retired officer, Colonel H S Fleming, an Army schoolmaster and two clerks, and although Colonel Fleming was sympathetic to the schoolmasters' cause, there was little he could do by himself. All matters of policy were decided by the Deputy-Director of Personal Services, an officer whose duties were not merely onerous but incessant. It was not to be wondered at that when war broke out the retired officer was left to carry on as best he could and advised not to raise new and difficult issues.³³

Nevertheless, Colonel Fleming did suggest that a few of the inspectors be sent to France to take up educational appointments with divisions, thus linking the Army schoolmaster with the new

education scheme. Although this particular plan failed, primarily because Fleming felt bound to select men by seniority alone whereas the divisions wanted young men of energy, the need to link the old and the new was recognized as vital to the future of Army education. In March 1919, the Adjutant-General finally agreed to transfer responsibility for the Corps of Army Schoolmasters from his department to SD8, thus bringing all education under the General Staff, which was responsible for military training. This unification of education under a single authority was undoubtedly in the long-term interests of both Army education and its schoolmasters. It ensured that when the time came, proposals for the permanent future of Army education could be properly put forward with one voice by a single Education Department of the War Office.³⁴ In early 1919, however, its future was far from certain.

The founding of the Army Educational Corps in 1920

It had taken nearly four years to convince the authorities of the importance of a wartime education scheme, and it was still viewed by some as a temporary measure to meet the unique circumstances of the time. It seemed probable though that what was beneficial for the war armies would also be beneficial to the regular Army, for the value of education and the problems of employment after discharge applied to the regular as much as to the temporary soldier. There were two considerations that largely determined the outcome of the future of education in the Army: the degree of pressure that considerations of economy exerted, and the extent of support from the military authorities. The economic factor did not make itself fully felt until after the founding of the new Corps,³⁵ although it was clear that there would be a certain amount of retrenchment. As for the second consideration, Gorell knew that there would be some opposition, as there always had been.

Some of those in authority in the Army viewed the efforts to provide education for soldiers with astonishment and scepticism. They regarded all such efforts as incompatible with effective

military training, as 'utterly out of place under active service conditions' and unlikely to be advantageous to either the soldier or the Army. Such was the attitude of the sergeant-major who, on hearing that a young soldiers' battalion was about to parade for a history lesson exclaimed scornfully, 'History? History won't kill Germans!' ³⁶ As far as the higher military authorities were concerned, however, with a few notable exceptions, they gave the educational work in hand their full support; indeed, without their interest and cooperation, it would have been impossible.³⁷ Their belief, that the benefits of the wartime education scheme ought to be extended to the regular Army, was recounted by Gorell himself in a letter to Lord Haldane in December 1919. In it he explained that the Army Council 'in a remarkable paragraph' had asked the Treasury to support the Estimates for Education in 1920-21, and that the education scheme 'should have precedence, even if some other services more closely allied with the combatant side of the Army have to be sacrificed or curtailed'.³⁸

Throughout 1919 the idea of the permanence of an educational organization grew. There was increasing support for a corps of trained and qualified educators, and also the recognition that education should be viewed as an essential part of a soldier's training and not, as hitherto, merely as an adjunct to it. This changing conception of education was stressed by the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir Henry Wilson at the Imperial Education Conference of June 1919, when he indicated that one of the main problems facing the peacetime Army was that of weaving education into the life of every soldier.³⁹ He was followed by H A L Fisher, President of the Board of Education, who concluded his address with the following words

The mere recognition of the fact by our brilliant Chief of the General Staff, that education is henceforth to be an essential part of Army training, is one of those great steps forward in the social progress of the world for which the war has been responsible.⁴⁰

The two-day Imperial Education Conference, held at Australia House from 11 to 12 June 1919, marked the culmination of Imperial educational cooperation during the war and demobilization

periods.⁴¹ Practically every university in the Empire was represented and, in addition, there were men eminent in business and agriculture. Its aspirations were undoubtedly high. Fisher hoped that there would be equality of educational opportunity throughout the Empire and Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, a member of the Legislative Assembly of the University of South Africa, summed up the proceedings by stating that

... this is part of a big thing - much bigger than educating a certain number of soldiers and returning them as qualified and capable citizens, good as that is; this is a scheme to educate the whole Empire.⁴²

Gorell likewise espoused the cause of Imperial cooperation, but it is probably fair to suggest that his primary objective was to secure formal approval in peacetime for the education scheme that he had devised for wartime. In his diaries, he wrote that the Conference had been successful in its 'main object' of bringing both Wilson and Fisher 'out in the open' in favour of a permanent educational organization in the future Army.⁴³ Within a month of the Conference, he had visited Wilson, together with General Sir Arthur Lynden-Bell, head of the Directorate of Staff Duties, and had persuaded him to see Churchill and obtain an early response. Unless this was done good instructors would not stay. On 31 July 1919 Gorell wrote in his diary, 'Victory: Winston has been brought to a decision definitely on the principle and it is settled that education shall in future form part of a soldier's military training'.⁴⁴ Churchill confirmed this on 5 August 1919 when, replying to a question on the subject, he told the House of Commons that henceforth education was to be regarded as an 'integral part of Army training'.⁴⁵

This announcement was very much welcomed by the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, under the chairmanship of A L Smith. In its final report it had pointed to the 'outstanding' example of the Army in the furtherance of adult education and could not 'over-emphasize the significance of its work and its possibilities for the future', and urged that a permanent education organization be established at the earliest

opportunity.⁴⁶ Within the Army there was, however, dissension, with some of the most stubborn resistance coming from within the War Office, a finance member describing the whole scheme as a device for creating staff officers.⁴⁷ As late as April 1920, just two months before the new Corps came into existence, a meeting of the Army Council was held, at which Churchill was present and where influential voices spoke out against it. These included Lieutenant-General Sir George Macdonagh, the Adjutant-General, who described the proposals pertaining to the Corps as fantastic and impracticable and, furthermore, he claimed that this was the first time that he had heard of them, as did the Master-General of the Ordnance.⁴⁸ Gorell was present at the meeting to answer any questions posed and then withdrew, only to hear later from General C Harrington, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, a keen supporter of Army education, and later the first Colonel Commandant of the new Army Educational Corps, that there had been a long and 'stormy' discussion but that, with Churchill's strong support, the educational reforms were to go ahead.

Gorell had been very disappointed when Milner had left the War Office late in 1918, although Lord Haldane had reassured him that Churchill would be a worthy successor, and despite his ignorance of educational matters and his marginal interest in them, he would support the educational scheme. Haldane was proved right. The Adjutant-General was so furious at the outcome of the meeting that 'he wouldn't speak to anyone', and continued 'to put spokes in the educational wheel'.⁴⁹ As Gorell was later to write in his memoirs, without Churchill's cooperation and that of many of the senior officers of the Army the scheme would have been sunk by the 'shattering broadsides' of the Adjutant-General, aided by the 'cold hostility' of the Quartermaster-General, Major-General Sir Travers Clarke.⁵⁰ The hostility of the Adjutant-General towards Gorell was partly personal for he had never forgiven Gorell for taking the Corps of Army Schoolmasters from him.⁵¹ But there were, no doubt, other reasons too.

To appreciate fully the concern of the Adjutant-General one has to remember that, at this time, civil war was smouldering in

Ireland, Bolshevism was supposed to be sweeping Europe,⁵² and demobilization threatened to provoke violent disturbance. The Ministry of Labour's plan was to release first the key men most required by industry, that is, skilled men. Unfortunately, these men had been the last to be called up and were now to be the first out. This caused such discontent that there were mutinies in the Army in both Britain and France. In one demonstration 3,000 men marched from Victoria Station to Horse Guards Parade in protest, and Sir Henry Wilson doubted whether any troops could be relied upon to disperse them.⁵³ Soldiers had just been given the vote. Was it wise at this time to pursue schemes which would develop the mind of the soldier? Some felt it was not, including the Adjutant-General who accused Gorell of 'bolshevising the Army'.⁵⁴ Over a century earlier, the Duke of York, the Commander-in-Chief, had refused to allow books in barracks because he feared it would increase radical tendencies within the Army.⁵⁵ The reason why this minority view did not prevail in 1918-19 was due not only to the persuasive arguments in favour of educational training, but also because of changing social attitudes within society as a whole as a result of the four years of conflict in which the whole nation was involved.

The First World War armies were enormous, and compulsory service spread the military burden over every class of the population. Industry was mobilized; labour was directed and rationing introduced, and for the first time the civilian population was subjected to air raids. All of this brought the reality of war to the people at home and led to a strong feeling of national unity, a reluctance to return to the social divisions of pre-war days, and a belief that those who had fought in the war deserved to return to 'a world fit for heroes to live in'.

A symptom of this new thinking and desire for social reform was the setting up of a Reconstruction Committee in 1916, and the practical results included educational and political legislation two years later. In June 1918, Parliament passed a Reform Act enfranchising all women over 30 and all men over 25, including military voters. In all, eight million were added to the

electoral register, a great number of whom were in the Forces and some of whom had been cut off from home affairs for several years. What Robert Lowe said in 1867 on the need to compel our future masters to learn their letters was no less applicable in 1918, as was acknowledged by Fisher when he introduced his Education Bill into the House in August 1917.⁵⁶ In that speech he also drew attention to the economic benefits to be derived from a better educated workforce and to the vital importance of using the country's resources to the full, for it would be wrong to believe, comforting as it might be, that the 'fierce rivalry' with Germany would disappear.

Important as these considerations were, Fisher believed that there were higher ideals upon which the case for educational reform should be based. Men did not want education simply to become better technical workmen and earn higher wages, nor did they want it in order to rise out of their own class, 'always a vulgar ambition', but because 'they know that in the treasures of the mind they can find an aid to good citizenship, a source of pure enjoyment and a refuge from the necessary hardships' of life.⁵⁷ Thus he proposed a programme that was democratic in outlook, that is, one that would benefit the majority of the community,⁵⁸ and one that would help to stimulate civic pride, promote general culture and technical knowledge and diffuse a steadier judgement and a better-informed opinion throughout the whole of the population. In so doing, Fisher was anticipating the direction that was shortly to be given to Army education.

Although the Education Act suffered a setback after the war, as did the new Army education scheme, all parties accepted the minister's view that the education system was 'not adequate to the new, serious, and enduring liabilities of the Empire, or the new civic burdens'. That conviction was shared by Sir Douglas Haig and many senior officers and was reiterated by the Ministry of Reconstruction which declared

Adult education must not be regarded as a luxury for a few exceptional persons here and there, nor as a thing which concerns only a short span of early manhood ... adult education is a primary national

necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship, and therefore should be both universal and lifelong.⁵⁹

Hence, the Army education scheme, which Fisher had described as 'an invention hardly second in importance to the invention of firearms',⁶⁰ was to have a role not only in promoting military efficiency, but also in national reconstruction. The latter part of 1919 and the early months of 1920 were taken up in preparation for the implementation of the peacetime scheme of education and on 14 May 1920 the Army Council agreed the content of the Royal Warrant establishing the AEC. A month later, on 15 June, the Warrant was published;⁶¹ the Corps of Army Schoolmasters was disbanded and its members were given the opportunity to apply to transfer to the new Corps, a number of them doing so and serving for some years with distinction.

The Army Educational Corps: its vision in 1920

The principles underlying the new education scheme were promulgated in the Manual, Educational Training, Part 1: General Principles, (hereafter referred to as the Manual), which was published at the same time as the Royal Warrant.⁶² The first aim of educational training, it declared, was to develop the faculty for training in the Army's leaders. Since every officer and NCO was not only a leader but also a trainer, it was important that he had the ability to instruct. Writing shortly after the publication of the Manual, Borden-Turner, who had done so much to promote education in France during the war, stated that a modern army 'has no place for officers who are unable to instruct their subordinates, however great may be their gallantry and attractive their personality'. He recalled his days at GHQ in France and how nothing had inspired greater confidence than a clear and forceful explanation from a commander with a great reputation as a leader of what each person was expected to do. 'Unfortunately', he went on, 'these powers of exposition were frequently deplorably lacking in commanders ... and the effect of a halting and muddled statement of plans on the eve of operations was depressing in the extreme'.⁶³ It now became official policy that Army education was to provide the Army's leaders with the

skills of instruction which were so essential to their leadership. But at the same time educational training was also to be directed towards the soldier himself, in order to improve him 'as a subject for military training and as a citizen of the Empire'.

From the point of view of military efficiency, the Army would gain much by devoting a certain amount of time daily to education, for a man whose intelligence had been 'cultivated' was easier to train than one who was 'mentally unenlightened'. In other words, it would be easier to make a trained soldier out of a man whose mind had been developed, than out of a dull creature quite unaccustomed to respond to intellectual stimulus. Such a belief was not a new one of course, although it was now given greater emphasis. What was novel was the idea of education in citizenship, which reflected the increasing attention being paid to this subject in civilian life and, in particular, in the work of the Civic and Moral Education League.⁶⁴ Within the Army, instruction in citizenship was considered especially important during the early years of a man's service. His outlook was in many cases extremely narrow for he had acquired little experience of work, or knowledge of the normal responsibilities of civil life.⁶⁵

Important as this study of citizenship was, the success of Army education would, arguably, be judged by the extent to which it assisted the soldier to find remunerative employment on his return to civil life. As already discussed in Chapter 5,⁶⁶ some consideration had been given to planned resettlement and to technical education before 1914, but these efforts were curtailed by the outbreak of war, and it would be fair to say that they had been meagre. This problem was now to be tackled resolutely, partly through concern for the man himself but also because of its adverse effects upon recruiting.

In order to satisfy all of these requirements, Army certificates of education were re-introduced and steps taken to provide pre-vocational education and training. The aim of the former was to provide a balance between the claims of military training, the

possibilities of resettlement, and the bias of the individual soldier. As before the War, the third class certificate was a recruit test which men were expected to complete before they left the training depot. It concentrated on the three Rs 'a necessary consequence of the present serious deficiencies in primary education', although history and citizenship were also included.⁶⁷ The second class certificate was a trained soldier's test which denoted the educational standard now required for proficiency pay, and thus a soldier had to continue his education until he had attained that standard, although there was the additional incentive that it also made him eligible for promotion to corporal.⁶⁸ It was at this level that the soldier was introduced to vocational studies, as shown at Appendix W.⁶⁹ The first class certificate was a prerequisite for promotion to warrant officer and also a stepping stone to the special certificate, which had first been introduced as a wartime measure but had since been made permanent.

The Manual had also outlined the principles upon which vocational training was to be based, stressing that although the Army could not aim to produce trained workers in the sense formally understood, it could and should aim to 'turn out men so trained in mind and body as to be readily adaptable to any conditions of work to which they may be introduced'. Later instructions explained in more detail how the scheme was to be implemented, and described how these skills were to be acquired in progressive stages, initially within the unit through a systematic training programme, culminating in a full-time course for those in their last six months of service at an Army vocational training centre.⁷⁰

The impact of a citizen Army had revolutionized the scope and status of education within the Army. Instead of the narrow nineteenth century idea of education which had concentrated upon the acquisition of basic educational skills, the three Rs, to support the military training of the soldier, education now became much wider in scope to embrace, in addition, the development of the fuller man by making him a better citizen. The spread of education within the Army would also have a

beneficial influence upon society in general, as each year a steady stream of educated young men would return to civilian life. Indeed, there was no reason why the Army should not come to be regarded as the people's university course.⁷¹ These hopes would only be fully realized if commanding officers recognized that education should form an integral part of military training and that during the course of a soldier's service he had to be made an educated man, a good citizen and a competent workman, as well as an efficient soldier.

The Army Educational Corps: its role and composition, 1920

If the foregoing paragraphs provide an account of the vision of Army education in 1920, the vision of members of the AEC was that they were the chosen vehicle to bring this about. They would be a completely integrated part of the Army. They were to have combatant status, unlike members of the old Corps; they were to wear the uniform of the infantry, and officers were to take the same examinations for promotion as infantry officers. They were to go to the Staff College for, as the Chief of the Imperial General Staff himself said, 'officers with such high mental qualities as well as in many cases fine war records, should attend the Staff College, as they were obviously likely to turn out valuable staff officers'.⁷² As if to emphasize the integration of the Corps within the Army, the Corps badge depicted an open book representing learning against the background of the rifles and lances of the soldier. In wartime it was to be the duty of members of the Corps to carry out such duties as were allotted by their commanding officer; in peacetime they were to act as the latter's educational advisers, instructing at the higher levels, conducting examinations and supervising the work of the regimental instructors at the lower levels.

Whilst the majority of members of the Corps were to be attached to units, for every unit was to have a member of the Educational Corps on its strength, Corps personnel were also appointed to headquarters to supervise the educational training of that particular formation. Others were posted to the garrison schools

to teach the older children, or to the military boarding schools,⁷³ thus continuing the Corps of Army Schoolmasters' responsibility for the Army's children as well as its adults. Corps personnel were also attached to the training establishments for boy soldiers and to the Army vocational training centres to prepare the soldier for his resettlement, firmly establishing the Corps' responsibility towards both the junior soldier and the older man preparing for his retirement from the Service. Finally, a small number took up appointments at the newly-formed Army School of Education at Shorncliffe and at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst.

In order to meet its extensive commitments the size of the Corps was to be considerably larger than the old. The total establishment of the new Corps was 1,023, of whom 428 were to be commissioned officers and 595 other ranks, the latter comprising equal numbers of warrant officers and sergeant instructors.⁷⁴ Commissioned officers in the AEC were either to be university honours graduates or to hold special qualifications relevant to educational work; NCOs were to be in possession of the special Army certificate of education or, if civilians, have an equivalent qualification. Officers were to undergo a one year training course at an Army School of Education and other ranks, two terms. These regulations were to apply from 1 September 1923, and in the interim special rules were adopted to fill the ranks of the AEC. During these three years, 1920-3, the following categories of people were eligible: officers holding permanent commissions or other ranks on normal Army engagements; officers and other ranks who had been employed as education officers or instructors during their period of service; a limited number of university graduates and other candidates with special qualifications and, finally, members of the former Corps of Army Schoolmasters.

Nearly 5,000 applications were received for the commissioned places alone, giving the selection board several months work in the Autumn of 1920, Gorell coming out of retirement to chair the board at the request of Sir Henry Wilson.⁷⁵ Many of them had

distinguished war records. In the Army List of 1921, there were 270 subalterns in the AEC, of whom 32 had gained the Military Cross. Amongst them was B H Liddell Hart, who was later to transfer to the Royal Tank Corps and become a respected military strategist.⁷⁶ Such men had transferred to the AEC, relinquishing their wartime rank, because they espoused the educational ideals already described and because they wished to remain a part of the combatant side of the Army, which now included the Educational Corps. One such man was Percy Roe, later Brigadier Roe, who finally retired in 1952 from, by then, the Royal Army Educational Corps ⁷⁷ after 38 years of Army service.

Roe had been commissioned from Bristol University into the Gloucestershire Regiment on the outbreak of war in 1914 and had seen active service in France at the second battle of Ypres and later at the Somme. After the war he heard of plans to establish an educational corps and, as he had long been interested in education within the Army, he found the prospect of serving in the new corps 'most exciting'. As with many other applicants, however, more pragmatic motives also played a part. As an infantry officer he could expect to wait some 16 years for promotion to captain and, as he had a family to support, the financial implications were not insignificant.⁷⁸ In December 1920 he transferred to the AEC where, presumably, he believed the promotion prospects to be better.⁷⁹ But, as already explained, it was not only men from the fighting arms that were allowed to transfer to the Corps in 1920; members of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters were also eligible to transfer, either as commissioned officers or NCOs.⁸⁰

In London, amongst the first to be interviewed by the selection board were members of the old Corps. One hundred were offered commissions, of whom 70 ultimately accepted. One of them was R J Cameron, who had sought, unsuccessfully, a commission early on during the war.⁸¹ He explained how the inspectors of the old Corps were seen first, followed by the warrant officers in order of seniority. When Cameron's turn came he was a little nervous, but his replies to questions on the new curriculum evidently

satisfied the board as he was offered a commission. In March 1921 he was posted to Dublin where he stayed for just one year before leaving the Army to take up a teaching appointment. Another of Cameron's contemporaries, F H Hawkins, also transferred to the AEC, as a warrant officer class II. He too was sent to Dublin, to the Royal Hibernian Military School, where he remained until the school closed in 1922. Subsequently he was posted to India, where he completed his service before retiring from the Army in 1929.⁸²

Both Cameron and Hawkins were undoubtedly pleased that their applications had been successful, but like many of their colleagues they felt that members of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters were looked upon with disfavour by the selection board and the Army in general. In Hawkins' opinion, the board commissioned a block of warrant officers, class I, secure in the knowledge that they would soon be leaving the service, whilst below them only a few were successful. Cameron himself passed no comment on the selection procedures, but he did record in his memoirs the views of the Ex-Officers' Employment Bureau at Lincoln's Inn, which he contacted when his time came to consider his future outside the Army. It was seething in its denunciation of the War Office for its treatment of that 'fine body of men, the Ex-Army schoolmasters'. Cameron did not expand on why the Employment Bureau held this view. It might have been related to the fact that when Geddes became the executioner of the public services in 1922, all former Army schoolmasters with 18 years' service were axed.⁸³ Alternatively, it might have been related to War Office policy towards Army schoolmasters during the war and immediate post-war years. As C A Wilson, later Brigadier Wilson, explained in his memoirs, those Army schoolmasters who went before the board had been denied the chance of transferring to combat units and thus they had no wartime experience of combat and furthermore were not commissioned, and that this 'told heavily against them'.⁸⁴ In other words they were doubly disadvantaged, for they had not been allowed to transfer to combat arms because they were Army schoolmasters and would be needed after the war for education duties, and yet when the time

came for them to apply to join the new corps, they were penalized for lack of combat experience.

There is undoubtedly some truth in these assertions, and it was understandable for the Army schoolmasters themselves to believe that they were at a disadvantage and even being discriminated against by the selection board. As already discussed in Chapter 9, Army schoolmasters had for many years suffered from a lack of recognition and 'whilst almost all regimental officers spoke in the highest terms of them as individuals, as a body they were very much overlooked'.⁸⁵ Perhaps this attitude went some way to explaining the authorities' reluctance to grant them commissions and to move them to fighting units or to appointments with more responsibility, as well as the official reason given. Yet Gorell spoke very well of those schoolmasters who applied to join the AEC and he was, after all, the chairman of the selection board in London.

It was obvious to Gorell that they very much welcomed the new opportunities for educational initiative, and if their outlook was narrow, this was because of the rules and regulations that they had been subjected to in pre-war days, and not through any lack of ability or interest in their work.⁸⁶ They might not have seen combat, but they had had many years of military experience and their qualities as individuals were much respected. For example, on his first posting in 1920, Roe had met Warrant Officer E H Darling, a former member of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters and now a member of the AEC, whom Roe described as a splendid teacher and much respected by the battalion.⁸⁷ Lunt described them collectively as first class instructors and capable of wearing two cap-badges: one of their own corps, the Educational Corps, and the other of the regiment to which they were attached.⁸⁸ For a number of years these former members of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters continued to serve the new corps loyally, some continuing in the service until the 1950s. Nevertheless, it was to be only a matter of a few years after they had joined the AEC in 1920 that once again they saw the vision of Army education change, to resemble that with which members of the old Corps were more familiar.

The future of the Army Educational Corps and ex-members of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters

The birth of the Corps came at a time of economic crisis and the ensuing cuts in public expenditure, the 'Geddes Axe' of 1922, dealt one of its severest blows on the Armed Forces, and especially on its new education scheme. The AEC was cut more drastically than any other, being reduced to less than half its original complement of officers; as a consequence, officers of the Corps were restricted to headquarters instead of being attached to battalions. This made it impossible to maintain the original conception of the Corps as an integral part of the combatant side of the Army and ended the promised opportunity of entry to the Staff College.⁸⁹ Even before Geddes, however, there were signs that the momentum of the education scheme was slowing down.

With the return of peace, educational policy came once more to reside with the General Staff and the professional soldiers who at this time were preoccupied with the more immediate problems of civil war in Ireland as well as conflicts further afield. During the war years educational policy had resided technically with the professional soldier but in practice it had been in the hands of civilian and professional educators, for despite Gorell's military rank and War Office staff appointment, like many of his uniformed colleagues, he was a temporary and not a professional soldier. Now, the Army suffered from the lack of their expertise and also the loss of its links with civilian educational institutions. The Ministry of Reconstruction, set up in 1917 to help mould a 'better world' out of the social and economic conditions then prevailing, had shown a keen interest in Gorell's plans, but the educationists within that Ministry soon became occupied exclusively with Fisher's Education Act, whilst the Ministry itself dwindled and vanished. The withdrawal of civilian representatives had a marked effect upon plans for Army education, for their interests lay largely in liberal studies and without their support, interest in civic studies rapidly diminished and was not to be revived for another 20 years. At

the same time, resettlement was making less progress than expected. The AEC, which had initially been responsible for planning and setting up the vocational training centres, lost control of them by the early 1930s to the Ministry of Labour, with the result that much of the impetus for the scheme was lost and was not to be regained until after the Second World War.

The very considerable decline in breadth of vision and the increasing influence of military training was clearly evident in the 1931 edition of the Manual of Educational Training, with the last relics of the liberal phraseology of 1920 finally being swept away.⁹⁰ It reiterated the importance of assisting the soldier in finding employment after his military service was over, but there was no further reference to resettlement or to vocational training. Nor was there now any mention of citizenship or voluntary studies. As before the First World War, Army certificates of education, based upon the narrowly utilitarian aim of supporting military training, now became the central feature of the whole Army education scheme.

There was, in fact, to be no return to educational liberalism until 1940, when its rebirth coincided with a period of military reverses, and the paramount need after Dunkirk to keep men's minds active and interested, and their spirits fortified by an informed belief in ultimate victory. Learning the lessons of the First World War, the Haining Report,⁹¹ which was published in May 1940, recorded its belief that mental contentment was as important as physical comfort in maintaining morale and hence military efficiency. Another lesson was also learnt from that earlier conflict, and that was the importance of the AEC in any wartime education scheme. Having initially been dispersed in 1939 on cipher duties,⁹² members of the AEC were soon recalled to support the emerging education scheme in the field. Thus, at long last, those members of the AEC who had been members of the old Corps, albeit now only a small number, found themselves to be truly part of a wartime Army and not on the periphery of it. They and their predecessors had worked hard over many years to win greater recognition for their work and to be regarded as an

integral part of the military machine. They had waited a long time to see these hopes realized.

By this time, of course, the number of AEC members who had also served in the Corps of Army Schoolmasters had declined significantly, the majority having retired and taken up alternative employment, many with the London County Council. Since the 1920s they had formed the nucleus of the ex-Army Schoolmasters' Association, which had been formed in 1924.⁹³ At its peak in the mid-1930s, there were some 350 members. Social events were held regularly, including a twice-yearly gathering at the Duke of York's Headquarters at Chelsea, that venue having seen the birth of the Corps in 1846. As inevitably happens, however, in the case of the association of a disbanded Corps, numbers diminished over the years, and by the 1970s there were but some 60 active members remaining, every one over 70 years of age. It was decided, therefore, to bring the Association to a close. The final luncheon was held at the Duke of York's Headquarters on 15 July 1972. Amongst those attending was Colonel J Nelson who, it will be recalled, had deserted back in 1915 in order to seek more active service. He and his fellow members of the Corps could look back with pride on what they had achieved in furthering the cause of education in the Army and in securing its future.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 10

1. Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, 1919, P.P.,XXVIII, 1919, Appendix I, A Survey of Adult Education, Wartime Developments, p.349. The Adult Education Committee had been appointed in July 1917 as a sub-committee of the Reconstruction Committee of Lloyd George. When the Reconstruction Committee was superseded by the Ministry of Reconstruction, the Education Committee became a committee of the new department. Its terms of reference were 'to consider the provision for, and possibilities of, Adult Education (other than technical or vocational) in Great Britain, and to make recommendations'. Introductory remarks by the Committee's chairman, A L Smith, Master of Balliol College, Oxford.
2. Colonel Lord Gorell, Education and the Army. An Essay in Reconstruction (1921), p.10.
3. Ibid., p.18.
4. 'Trench Journalism in the Great War: The Wipers Times', in Journal of the Army Educational Corps, vol.IV, no.1, March 1927. See also a bound volume of the early editions, the Wipers Times (1917). In the first edition, the author apologizes for the delay in publishing which was caused by unwelcome visitors at the printing press and the difficulty in obtaining an overdraft from the local bank!
5. Gorell, op.cit., p.19.
6. Yeaxlee B A, 'The Civilian Contribution to Army Education', in Journal of the Army Educational Corps, vol.XVII, no.4, June 1942.
7. Sir W H Hadow (1859-1937) was an educationist, scholar and music historian. From 1916-18 he was Vice-Chancellor of Durham University before becoming first, Director of Education with the YMCA in France, and then Assistant

Director of Staff Duties in Gorell's Department at the War Office. After the war he returned to university life, serving as Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University from 1919-27.

8. Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, 1919, P.P.,XXVIII, 1919, Appendix I, p.338.
9. Yeaxlee, op.cit., p.142.
10. In 1917 Holst was appointed Musical Organiser by the YMCA in their educational work in the Near East. Holst I, Gustav Holst. A Biography (1988), p.52.
11. Gorell, op.cit., pp.10-11, 80 & 145. See also Aldrich R & Gordon P, Dictionary of British Educationists(1989) for an outline of the career of A L Smith (1850-1924).
12. Gorell, op.cit., Chapter 2, 'Beginnings in France'.
13. The Treasury would not sanction the appointment of a grade 2 staff officer, and so Gorell accepted a reduction in rank to captain. Lord Gorell (1884-1963) was educated at Winchester, Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford. He followed his father into the legal profession but soon took up writing and journalism. He was working on the educational staff of The Times when war broke out in 1914. In 1915 he 'joined up' and was appointed captain and adjutant to the 7th Battalion, The Rifle Brigade and was later to be awarded the MC. In 1918 he was promoted to colonel and appointed to the post of Deputy Director Staff Duties (Education) at the War Office and played a significant role in the founding of the AEC in 1920. After retiring from the Army after the war, Gorell served as Under Secretary of State for Air, 1921-2. Increasingly, he devoted himself to literature and his publications included works of fiction, fact, poetry and religion. During the Second World War he was company commander in the West Sussex Home Guard, and from 1939-48 was chairman of the Refugee Children's Movement.

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14. Gorell, op.cit., p.43.
 15. Army Order, no.295. WO, 24 September 1918, Educational Training in the Army. RAEC Archives.
 16. Army Order, no.3. WO, 9 December 1918, Educational Training in the Army. RAEC Archives.
 17. Army Order, no.18. WO, 20 December 1918, Educational Training in the Army. RAEC Archives. See also Gorell, op.cit., pp.85-93.
 18. The selection and grouping of subjects, and negotiations with the universities and professional bodies was the responsibility of Sir H Hadow.
 19. Army Order, no.3. WO, 9 December 1918, Educational Training in the Army. RAEC Archives. See Appendix V.
 20. Army Education Scheme, 1918-20, Army Education Circulars, no.10, undated, c. late 1918. Special Army Certificate of Education. RAEC Archives.
 21. It would appear that the academic staff undertook much of the instruction, with the universities being selected because they possessed 'competent civilian assistance and facilities'. See 'Teachers for the Army. Schools at Oxford and Cambridge. Mr Fisher's visit', in The Times, 18 January 1919.
 22. A Mansbridge (1876-1952) held a life-long interest in the promotion of adult education. Following the publication of an article, 'Democracy and Education', in 1903, he began an association to promote higher education for working men. The first branch was established at Reading in 1904, and the following year the association adopted the title 'Workers' Educational Association' (WEA). From 1906-12 he was a member of the Board of Education's Consultative Committee, and later, from 1924-39, he was President of the World Association for Adult Education. See Aldrich & Gordon, op.cit., pp.165-166.

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23. Army Order, no.3. WO, 9 December 1918, Educational Training in the Army. RAEC Archives.
 24. Gorell, op.cit., Chapter IX, 'The Armies of Occupation'.
 25. Recorded interview with Brigadier W T Lunt MBE, 1976. RAEC Archives. Brigadier Lunt served in the Corps until 1953. See 'Obituary' in Torch, vol.II, no.2, Winter 1977, p.12.
 26. Gorell, op.cit., pp.203-204.
 27. Cameron R J, 'Life of an Army Schoolmaster as seen through my Experiences, 1889-1920'. Undated. RAEC Archives. See also Chapter 4, pp.117-118, for an account of Cameron's youth and training.
 28. '100th Birthday', in Torch, vol.17, no.2, Winter 1983.
 29. Another successful application to transfer came from C A Wilson who had just completed his training to become an Army schoolmaster in 1914. When war broke out he applied to join the Gloucesters, the family regiment and was successful only because his father was medically unfit to go overseas and so his son took his place. Recorded interview with Brigadier C A Wilson. RAEC Archives. After the war he transferred to the AEC. He retired in 1953 and remained a staunch supporter of the work of the Corps until his death in 1979.
 30. Leaver W R, 'Reminiscences of W R Leaver, 1898-1919'. Undated. RAEC Archives.
 31. Nelson was soon sent to France before returning home to be commissioned. He served with the Royal Irish Fusiliers at Passchendale and with the Leinsters in Palestine, being wounded in each theatre. In 1921 he obtained a commission in the AEC and finally retired from the Army in 1950. Nelson J, 'The Story of an Honourable Desertion'. Undated. RAEC Archives.
 32. Hawkins F H, 'Army Schoolmaster, 1907-21 and Warrant Officer AEC, 1921-9', & 'Schoolmasters at War? By Three of Them.

- The Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force'. Undated. RAEC Archives.
33. Gorell, op.cit., pp.202-203. See Chapter 8, p.231 & Appendix S for the place of Army schools in the WO in 1914. (Gorell states that in 1918 Fleming held the rank of colonel).
 34. Ibid., p.206.
 35. Ibid., p.184. See also The First Interim Report of the Committee on National Expenditure, 1922, p.63. It drew attention to the dramatic increase in the cost of Army education, which was in part due to the efforts of the AEC to fit the soldier for his return to civil life. The Committee believed that this additional education had much to recommend it but, it continued, 'the point is whether the country can afford at the present time to spend money in this way'. It concluded that it could not.
 36. Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, 1919, P.P., XXVIII, 1919, Appendix I, p.343.
 37. Ibid., loc.cit., & Gorell, op.cit., p.184.
 38. Lord Gorell to Viscount Haldane, 12 December 1919. RAEC Archives.
 39. Reports on the Imperial Education Conference, June 1919. 'Empire Soldiers at School', The Times, 12 June 1919; 'Conference on Imperial Education', The Times Educational Supplement, 12 June 1919, p.288 & 'Imperial Education Conference', The Times Educational Supplement, 19 June 1919, p.306.
 40. Gorell, op.cit., p.176.
 41. Gorell had established relations with the Australian, New Zealand and Canadian forces during 1918 with a view to pooling resources, and in December 1918 an Imperial

Education Committee was established at the WO, under Gorell's chairmanship, to coordinate the educational plans of the Dominion Forces in the United Kingdom. The idea of holding an Imperial Education Conference emanated from this committee. Ibid., pp.167-168.

42. Ibid., pp.177-178.
43. The Diaries of Lord Gorell, 1919 volume. The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
44. Ibid., loc.cit.
45. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Army Training & Education, oral answer to a question by Lieutenant-Colonel A Murray, 5 August 1919, vol.119, cols.147-148.
46. Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, 1919, P.P.XXVIII, 1919, Chapter VIII, 'The State and Adult Education', pp.119-121.
47. Gorell, op.cit., p.33.
48. Churchill refuted this claim, pointing out that they did know of such plans. The Diaries of Lord Gorell, 1920 volume.
49. Ibid., loc.cit.
50. Lord Gorell, One man ... Many Parts (1956), p.209.
51. Ibid., p.210.
52. Taylor A J P, English History, 1914-45 (1977), p.138.
53. Ibid., loc.cit. Churchill resolved the problem by scrapping the scheme and substituting the simple principle 'first in, first out'.
54. Lord Gorell, One man ... Many Parts (1956), p.210. See also Mackenzie S P, Politics and Military Morale. Current Affairs and Citizenship Education in the British Army 1914-1950 (1992), Chapter 1.

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55. See Chapter 7, pp.206-207.
 56. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Education Bill. Mr Fisher's Statement, 10 August 1917, vol.97, cols. 795-852.
 57. Ibid., loc.cit.
 58. Dean D W, 'H A L Fisher, Reconstruction and the Development of the 1918 Education Act', in British Journal of Educational Studies, vol.18, 1970, pp.259-276, at pp.261-262.
 59. Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, 1919, P.P.,XXVIII, 1919, p.5.
 60. Gorell, Education and the Army, op.cit., p.269.
 61. Royal Warrant, 15 June 1920. Establishment of the AEC. MOD Library.
 62. Educational Training, Part 1: General Principles, June 1920.
 63. Borden-Turner D, late Lieutenant-Colonel, Staff Duties Directorate, WO, 'Education in the Army', in Army Quarterly, vol.1, no.1, October 1920, pp.138-153, at pp.140-141.
 64. In 1916 the Moral Education League changed its title to the Civic and Moral Education League, with a growing involvement in training for citizenship. See Hilliard F H, 'The Moral Instruction League, 1897-1919. A Victorian Campaign for the Introduction into Schools of Moral Education without Religion', in Durham Research Review, vol.3, no.12, September 1961.
 65. Educational Training, Part 1: General Principles, June 1920.
 66. See Chapter 5, pp.140-142.
 67. Educational Training, Part 1: General Principles, June 1920.
 68. Proficiency pay was first introduced in 1906. Army Order, 1 October 1906, in Report of the Inter-Departmental

- Committee on Army Schools, 1906 (under the chairmanship of the Earl of Portsmouth), p.4. At this time, soldiers had to be in possession of their third class certificate of education in order to be eligible for this grant, although the acquisition of this certificate did not become mandatory until 1913. See Chapter 6, p.171.
69. Regulations for Army Certificates of Education (to come into operation on 1 July 1921). RAEC Archives. See Appendix W.
 70. Manual of Educational Training, 1923. MOD Library & RAEC Archives.
 71. Report on Educational Training in the Regular Army, 1919, p.3.
 72. PRO WO 32/3101. WO Minutes, 1922. Allotment of Vacancies to the Staff College. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff was Field Marshal Sir H H Wilson.
 73. These now numbered three, and included Queen Victoria School, Dunblane. See Chapter 4, p.130, footnote 93.
 74. Army Order 231, 15 June 1920 laid down the following establishment for the Corps: 12 lieutenant-colonels; 30 majors; 76 captains; 310 lieutenants and 2nd lieutenants; 89 warrant officers, Class I; 208 warrant officers, Class II and 298 sergeants. RAEC Archives.
 75. Gorell, Education and the Army, op.cit., p.267.
 76. Liddell Hart B H, The Memoirs of Captain Liddell Hart (1965), p.63.
 77. The Army Educational Corps was granted the title 'Royal' by a special Army Order of 28 November 1946 by King George VI. The new title was in recognition of wartime service and, coincidentally, marked the centenary of the founding of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters.
 78. Recorded interview with Brigadier F P Roe, 1970s. RAEC Archives and Brigadier Roe's Obituary in Torch, vol.15,

no.1, Summer 1981.

79. In fact, like most members of the Corps, it took him some years to achieve promotion. Roe was a lieutenant for 11 years in the AEC before being promoted to captain. By 1939 promotion prospects were even worse. Half the majors had not been promoted since 1920 and 18 of the original captains were still captains. This situation was due to a combination of factors. In the first place, the selection board decided in 1920 that the only way to compile an equitable seniority list was to place a high value on wartime service. The outcome was that selection was brought within close limits of age and, since the retiring age of 55 was common to all, it became clear that many officers, and also instructors, would have little chance of promotion. The Geddes axe of 1922, in reducing the Corps to less than half its original size, and further cuts in the late 1920s, made the situation worse. By 1939 the AEC had a strength of only 106 officers: only two colonels, four lieutenant-colonels, 15 majors, 75 captains and ten lieutenants. This establishment compared very unfavourably with the more liberal scale of ranks accorded to the Army Chaplains' Department and the Army Pay, Dental and Veterinary Corps. In the opinion of The Times, this was a 'lamentable reflection' on the way in which the War Office regarded the development of the soldier's intelligence, 'compared with the care of his cash, his teeth, and his horses, as well as his religious observances'. 'The Mind of the Soldier. How the Army is Educated. A Call for Reform', The Times, 3 February 1938.
80. Royal Warrant, 15 June 1920. Establishment of the AEC. MOD Library.
81. See p.306 of this chapter and also Chapter 4, pp.117-118. Cameron, op.cit. RAEC Archives.
82. Hawkins, op.cit. RAEC Archives.

83. 'The Ex-Army Schoolmasters' Association', in Royal Army Educational Corps Gazette, vol.3, no.4, December 1972, pp.18-19.
84. Wilson, op.cit. RAEC Archives.
85. Ibid., loc.cit.
86. Gorell, Education and the Army, op.cit., p.258.
87. Roe, op.cit. RAEC Archives.
88. Recorded interview with Brigadier W T Lunt, June 1976. RAEC Archives.
89. Liddell Hart, op.cit., p.63.
90. Manual of Educational Training, 1931. MOD Library & RAEC Archives.
91. Report of the Committee on Educational, Welfare and Recreational Needs of the Army, May 1940. The chairman was Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Haining, GOC Western Command, who had for many years shown a marked interest in Army education. Its terms of reference were 'to draw up a scheme for the further education of the Army, in subjects other than military, having regard in particular to the greater variety of needs of the wartime as opposed to the peacetime Army ...'
92. During the First World War the General Staff in India had entrusted all of its cipher work to members of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters. In 1931 the WO made the AEC responsible for cipher duties worldwide, thus leaving the Signals Branch free to concentrate on the technical development of wireless telegraphy as the main medium of communication in war.
93. 'The Ex-Army Schoolmasters' Association', in Royal Army Educational Corps Gazette, vol.3, no.4, December 1972, pp.18-19.

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION

The story of the Army schoolmaster is inextricably linked to the development of elementary education in the Army and, in particular, to its regimental schools. Some of these schools dated back to the late seventeenth century, although their main period of development was in the early nineteenth. Whenever a commanding officer set up a school he appointed an NCO from the regiment to act as schoolmaster whose task it was to provide a basic, elementary education for the soldiers of the regiment and their offspring. The official authorization of these schools in 1812, and more particularly the reforms of 1846, led to increasing attention being paid during subsequent decades to the nature and quality of the schoolmasters' work as well as their preparation for it.

This study, in its general direction, has traced the growth of Army children's schooling in comparison with contemporary civilian provision, and has described the development of soldiers' education, from an initial concern with morale, through an emphasis on a basic education relevant to military duties, to opportunities offered for recreational and 'liberal' studies. It has examined the selection and training of Army schoolmasters during the period under review, together with their terms and conditions of service, and finally it has considered successive arrangements made for the supervision and inspection of elementary education in the Army.

Contemporary and secondary sources are numerous, as the bibliography shows. The primary sources of evidence, particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth, provide a detailed picture of educational developments at this time. Extensive as they are, they do, however, have their limitations, the main one being their irregular and sometimes infrequent publication. During the period 1860 to 1870, for example, when the Council of Military Education was responsible for Army schools, six reports were produced. During the following three decades, only six more were

published under the Council's successor, the Director-General of Military Education, and none at all between 1877 and 1889. Army school regulations and instructions to inspectors were equally intermittent. This has meant that precise dating of some educational developments has not been possible. Nevertheless, the records are sufficient to provide a reasonably complete picture of educational activity at this time.

The growth of a system

It may seem surprising that the Army should have been one of the earliest advocates of elementary education in this country, for its prime purpose is to prepare for war and not to further the cause of education. Many within the Army and outside it saw little or no relation between fighting and education; as Albert, Prince Consort is reputed to have said, the Army was there 'to defend the country not to be educated'. Others took a different view, arguing that mind and body could not be separated in this way and that an educated, or at least modestly educated, man would make a better fighter. This had long been recognized in some quarters. In Cromwell's Army the need was regarded as one of providing, largely through religious indoctrination, an incentive and fighting spirit to match that of the Royalist forces.

If the origins of education in the Army emanated from Cromwell's desire to heighten religious awareness amongst his troops and thus to raise morale, the impetus for subsequent developments came from a realization amongst more forward-thinking commanders that a minimum ability in reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as an ability to think for oneself, also had a direct bearing upon military efficiency. They appreciated that education not only served the religious need of encouraging Bible study but also the military requirements of an administrative and technical nature, the latter brought about by new conditions on the field of battle. As tactical training moved away from mass movement to individual action so commanding officers increasingly recognized that their men, especially their NCOs, should be trained as intelligent individuals and not as moving marionettes.

There were also less exalted, and sometimes conflicting, reasons for increasing educational provision. In view of the social background of the soldier, it was clearly desirable to occupy his time constructively rather than to let him wander on the streets and into public houses. Moreover, social conditioning played its part. Social mobility was far from being generally recognized as a policy objective, let alone pursued, so it appeared natural to try to ensure that soldiers accepted their lowly station in society: to make them law-abiding, industrious and hardworking men who would not challenge authority. Such an objective was hardly compatible, however, with the pursuit of independent thought. As far as the children were concerned, the motives for providing them with some education were equally varied and not at all dissimilar, stemming from religious convictions, coupled with moral, social, humanitarian and utilitarian overtones and, in the longer term, the need to ensure that they would find appropriate employment.

Certain forces favoured the promotion of elementary education in the Army compared with its civilian counterparts. In the first place, armies are communities within the larger community, tightly knit into units and hierarchical in structure. These communities, or more precisely the individual regiments, retained their own ethos and sets of values, based on order and discipline, loyalty and esprit de corps. Once a commanding officer was convinced of the value of educational provision and intent upon establishing a school, library or reading room, his writ went almost unchallenged. Commanding officers and their subordinate officers might not have been particularly concerned to further their own education, but they were genuinely concerned about the well-being of their men and their families, and that included education, especially as there was no one else to share this responsibility. Hence they started unit hospitals, temperance societies and savings banks and opened schools and libraries, their zeal and liberality, as Palmerston acknowledged, paying for these things. In the early nineteenth century, the Duke of York, the then Commander-in-Chief, set the example as a good leader, aided by Palmerston in the political field, and was followed by many regimental officers under his command.

In contrast, civilian elementary education throughout the nineteenth century laboured under serious handicaps. Probably the main one was sectarian divisions and rivalries. Education bills failed because both Anglicans and Nonconformists believed that any changes might act to the detriment of their own sect. The Army, and Gleig supported it here, was indifferent to the religious affiliations of its members: men of all religious persuasions were accepted at the Normal School, Chelsea, and the religious instruction given in the regimental schools was strictly non-denominational. This immediately achieved a reinforcement of the Army's natural cohesion. Moreover, whereas the regimental officer was at worst lackadaisical and at best diligent in the discharge of his responsibilities, some civilian employers were opposed to elementary education, on the basis of a laissez-faire philosophy: education would compete in one way or another with cheap labour.

Whilst the Army was in many respects distinct from the rest of society, it was never a 'state within a state' as with some continental armies. This was to be significant in the development of elementary education in the Army, for it could not remain immune to ideas and trends affecting society as a whole. At the highest level the Army was subject to strict parliamentary control, as it had been since the rule of the major-generals in the mid-seventeenth century. It was the Secretary of State for War who ultimately determined Army educational policy, in spite of the very considerable influence wielded by the Crown through the Commander-in-Chief, as was apparent in the battle for the control of officers' education in the aftermath of the Crimean War. The Officer Corps, furthermore, was drawn from the ruling classes. The system of purchase was deliberately perpetuated in order to ensure an identity of interest between the governing classes and the Army's leaders, so as to make a second military dictatorship impossible. Such a system was not without its drawbacks, for the lifestyle of the officer, the gentleman amateur, was unlikely to engender a strong incentive for him to take his profession seriously. What it did ensure, however, was an identity of interest between the Army's leaders and the ruling

classes, and this applied as much to education as to any other sphere. There were undoubtedly differences in the pace of change in elementary education in the Army and in society, as well as differences of emphasis but, looking at the nineteenth century as a whole, the similarities were as striking as the dissimilarities.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the whole of society, including the Army, was affected by the need to maintain social stability, which was in danger of being undermined by the changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution as well as by the impact of the French Revolution on English social and political thinking. It was, therefore, more than a mere chance that the years 1811-12 witnessed significant developments in both civilian and military education. Not only did they see the founding of the two voluntary societies to further the cause of education in the respective interests of the Established Church and Nonconformity, but they also saw the formal establishment of regimental schools throughout the Army. The official recognition and subsequent growth of regimental schools in the Army, catering for adults as well as children, is paralleled in the civilian sphere by the expansion of the adult school movement. Initially, the latter aimed only to instruct adults to read the Bible although gradually secular subjects were included in the curriculum. This gradual development of the adult school curriculum from purely religious instruction to more secular studies can similarly be seen in Army education, although the timescale is somewhat different. Cromwell, in the mid-seventeenth century, had stressed the importance of religious instruction and had issued religious works to his troops. But later, commanding officers had come to realize the military value of a minimum ability in the three Rs and had established regimental schools for that purpose. Nor did the parallels between military and civilian education stop here.

The rapid expansion of civilian training colleges in the 1840s was mirrored in the Army by the establishment of its Normal School at the Asylum at Chelsea, the influence of Kay-Shuttleworth upon

Gleig being readily apparent. Gleig's appointment as Inspector-General of Army Schools in 1846 to oversee the direction of elementary education in the Army also reflected civilian developments at this time. Only seven years earlier, in 1839, the Privy Council had set up a Committee for Education to ensure that parliamentary funds now granted to the voluntary schools were being spent wisely, and in the same year Her Majesty's Inspectorate was established. By 1852 it had grown to 24 inspectors and nine assistant inspectors; just a few years later three assistant inspectors were appointed to assist Gleig in inspecting the Army's schools. Gleig and those responsible for the direction of Army education were always aware of developments in civilian education and were anxious to ensure that the Army's schools did not lag behind. They drew upon what, in their opinion, was best in civilian education and adapted it to meet Army circumstances and requirements. They also called upon distinguished educationists for their advice and assistance. Perhaps the most notable example of such a person was Henry Moseley who was associated with Army education for a quarter of a century, from 1846 when he was asked to inspect the Asylum at Chelsea to his membership of the Council of Military Education from 1860-70. Others acted as examiners at the Normal and Model Schools at Chelsea, and later in the century links were established with the Board of Education's Inspectorate.

It would, however, be misleading to suggest that initiative for change always came from the civilian field. This may have been so during the last decades of the nineteenth century as the civilian Codes were relaxed, the curriculum widened, teaching methods reviewed and a less inquisitorial approach to inspection adopted. But during the first half of the century the Army was very much at the forefront of educational thought. For example, when in 1812 regimental schools, supported by public funds, became mandatory throughout the Army, only a small proportion of civilian children attended school in spite of the tremendous efforts made by the two voluntary societies, and it was to be another 20 years before these schools received state support. Not until the closing years of the century could civilian

elementary education be described as essentially universal, compulsory and free. In contrast, by the mid-nineteenth century, the vast majority of children attended an Army school and in 1871 this became free. In the adult school, policy fluctuated over the question of compulsory attendance for all soldiers, but ever since 1870 the principle had been established that certain levels of educational attainment were required from those aspiring to higher rank. This provision gave the Army a unique place in the history of adult education in nineteenth century Britain.

The extent to which these developments in the Army influenced the growth of civilian elementary education is not known, although those responsible for civilian education were certainly aware of Army initiatives. What would appear to be more certain, at least on first glance, was the impact of war on educational developments in both military and civilian circles.

When one considers the important educational changes in both of these spheres it is noticeable that they were connected, in time at least, with war and conflict. The examples are numerous. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the expansion of the monitorial schools along the lines of Bell in the Army and in civilian Anglican schools, and of Lancaster in Nonconformist civilian schools, coincides with the prolonged years of war against Napoleon. The Crimean War in the mid-nineteenth century led, in the Army, to a scrutiny of officers' education and training and, inter alia, to the integration of Army schools under the Council of Military Education. On a less positive note it led to the need for economy in all spheres of education, characterized by an emphasis on 'cheap' educational provision and 'value for money', as reflected in the system of 'payment by results'. Within a decade, other conflicts, which did not directly involve the British Army, also had an impact. Concern over the growing military might of Prussia played a part in the establishment of the Royal Commission to inquire into Military Education, 1868-70, whilst the claim that the battles of Gettysburg and Sadowa had been won in the public elementary schools played its part in the educational debates prior to the

Education Act of 1870. Finally, in the twentieth century, there is the obvious connection between the First World War and the 1918 Education Act and the establishment of the Army Educational Corps, followed a generation later by the Second World War, the 1944 Education Act and the title 'Royal' being conferred on the Army Educational Corps.

It is, however, one thing to point to the relationship in time between war and educational reform, and quite another to suggest a direct causal link between them. What appears most likely was that war added weight to the case for reform and accelerated changes already under consideration. This was undoubtedly the case at the time of the 1918 and 1944 Education Acts, although it is true that the enlarged Army education scheme and the establishment of the Army Educational Corps arose directly from the circumstances of the First World War. But then the circumstances were exceptional. For the first time in the nation's history almost the entire population had been mobilized in one way or another and this, coupled with the unprecedented loss of life, called for an exceptional response. In contrast, it is more doubtful whether nineteenth century warfare, involving a smaller, professional army, had the same impact. Fighting in distant corners of the Empire meant that it took time for news to reach home and once the war was over its impact dwindled. Moreover, the Army was invariably successful and this tended to engender a feeling of complacency. As Sir Garnet Wolseley, one of the few 'thinking' generals in the nineteenth century Army, said 'great reforms are seldom effected in an army except after great reverses'.

These nineteenth century wars might have had little immediate impact on educational thought in the Army or outside, but gradually an increasing number of military commanders realized that the technological and tactical advances, spurred on by war, would have implications for the educational requirements of the soldier. Equally, albeit slowly, they provided a stimulus to technological and scientific study in civilian middle class education. Meanwhile, those responsible for the direction of

elementary education in the Army realized that progress would be limited unless it provided sound and well-educated teachers. It was perhaps, above all, in the area of the selection and training of the Army schoolmaster that the military authorities showed that they were very much in the vanguard of elementary education in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Although those NCOs appointed by commanding officers to run the regimental schools in the eighteenth century received no formal training, some attention appears to have been paid to selecting men with some education and a suitable temperament. The reforms of 1812 required all schoolmaster-sergeants to undergo a short period of training at the Asylum, Chelsea, under the supervision of Bell who was already training monitors there, and who were winning acclaim in both military and civilian educational circles. The monitorial system which they learnt was typical of an extreme empiricist and mechanical approach. It had its weaknesses, not least the fact that youths were usually too young and immature to impart real knowledge to their contemporaries. John Stuart Mill was educated in his early years under the monitorial system within his family, his father teaching him and he passing on the lessons to his younger brothers and sisters, a system he speaks of with much dislike in his autobiography. Nevertheless, it did have some advantages, for it enabled large numbers of pupils to be taught something and it was, above all, cheap.

The influence of Gleig, some 30 years later, was in a more liberal direction. He had no sympathy with 'cost effectiveness' and mechanical mass production methods in education. The soldier's behaviour was to be improved by disciplining minds as well as bodies, by religious, moral and intellectual education designed to produce the complete person. Gleig's willingness to acquaint himself with developments in civilian education and to experiment with methods imported from that source showed a disposition to take education seriously. This was certainly reflected in the rigorous academic and professional course of training that he instituted at the Asylum in 1847 and which

endured for 40 years. The closure of the Normal School in 1887 might be regarded as a retrograde step, for by this time an increasing number of civilian students were attending training college. There were, however, sound reasons, peculiar to the Army, which accounted for this decision, in addition to financial ones which affected everyone. Unlike its civilian counterparts, the Army had to ensure that its teachers were capable of teaching both adults and children, as well as taking account of the very widely differing social, educational and teaching backgrounds of its students who came from both civilian and military origins. The system of training after 1887 attempted to resolve these problems by making individual provision for each student during his probationary year whilst, at the same time, providing all with experience of teaching pupils of all ages except the very young, who remained the responsibility of the Army schoolmistress.

The total number of Army schoolmasters was never large; at the end of the nineteenth century the Corps of Army Schoolmasters totalled only 265. In spite of this relatively small establishment, the Corps had difficulty in attracting enough men of the right calibre, from either civilian or military sources. There were a number of reasons for this. As far as soldiers were concerned, some were unwilling to compete because they felt that they would not perform well, whilst the ambitious and able saw quicker paths to promotion elsewhere. Yet the authorities always maintained a preference for the military man as schoolmaster because they believed that he would be more accustomed to military life and more used to dealing with soldiers. This is not to say that civilian applicants were discouraged, although the requirement for them to repeat their course of training at the Normal School might lead one to suppose that this was so.

When the Corps was formed, only civilian applicants were eligible initially, and by the close of the century they comprised approximately half of the total establishment. Nevertheless, there was a persistent feeling that it took civilians a long time to adjust to military life. This is not perhaps surprising

although there is no evidence to suggest that they did not do so eventually. The unfamiliar conditions of Army service, which included strict discipline and the liability for lengthy periods of foreign service in remote parts of the world, understandably took time to adjust to and probably accounted, at least in part, for the dearth of civilian applicants. Overall, the problem facing the military authorities in their attempts to recruit more schoolmasters was a simple one: few men wanted to combine a career of soldiering and teaching. Although members of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters held non-combatant status and thus were not required to fight, they did have to endure the restrictions and hardships of military life. To find men who were both willing and able to combine teaching with service in the Army was to be a persistent problem for the Corps and is one that persists to this day.

If the Army was to retain a professional corps of schoolmasters, it had not only to address the questions of selection and training, but also the terms and conditions under which its members served. Throughout the period under review, these caused widespread dissatisfaction, although the extent to which they adversely affected recruitment is difficult to gauge. What seems more certain is that they led some Army schoolmasters to leave the Service prematurely. Like their civilian colleagues they sought to improve their material situation, especially their pay and pension, but these took second place to the desire to improve their prospects of promotion and their overall status. As with all teachers in public service at all times, the professional status of the Army schoolmaster was, at best, ambiguous. In a more or less permanent state of limbo between non-commissioned and commissioned rank, he was accepted socially neither by the rank and file nor by the officer class. Yet he did have the opportunity to be promoted to inspector, and with it, commissioned officer status. In this respect he fared considerably better than his civilian counterpart whose chances of becoming an HMI were almost non-existent. But, even so, the Army's inspectorate was never large; at the close of the nineteenth century there were only 23 in all, 12 at home and the remainder in India and the Colonies.

All of these factors naturally gave rise to a feeling of frustration, intensified by relatively poor pay and long hours of work, much of it of a lower grade than he considered himself qualified to undertake. Unwillingness to confer professional status through commissioned rank for the overwhelming majority of the Corps, as was done in the case of medical officers and chaplains, must have increased their general feeling of dissatisfaction. Finally, for those schoolmasters serving at the outbreak of war in 1914, the authorities' insistence that they remain at their normal duties and their refusal to allow them to transfer to fighting units, must have been a further indignity. Nevertheless, Army schoolmasters did, for the most part, enjoy their time with the Colours and gained much satisfaction from their work in both the adult and children's schools. What then did they achieve?

An assessment

In the children's schools of the Army, schoolmasters tried to provide a basic, unpretentious elementary education for soldiers' children everywhere; one in keeping with their position in life and one that would also provide them with the prospect of suitable employment later. These schools were generally run efficiently and, as far as one can judge, compared favourably with the best of civilian schools for much of the nineteenth century. Assisted by a policy of compulsory and free schooling, standards rose steadily as more children stayed on longer at school. Nevertheless, as time went by, Army schools began to fall behind. The curriculum, which had probably been more comprehensive than that of its civilian counterparts during the period of payment by results, did not expand sufficiently towards the end of the nineteenth century to keep pace with the best of the Board schools. In part this was due to financial considerations, but also to the need for the Army to maintain a standard curriculum worldwide so as to help ensure that its children were not penalized as they moved from school to school. At the same time, the Army was unable to provide an effective system of secondary education, the War Office arguing that the

numbers were too small in any one place to justify establishing separate secondary schools. Children could stay on in special classes at the top of the elementary school and perhaps win a scholarship to a civilian school, but the Army was unable to make the provision which the new Local Education Authorities were empowered to provide under the Education Act of 1902.

In the adult school an increasing number of NCOs and soldiers obtained certificates of education. But the formal curriculum barely extended beyond the basic subjects except for the most able, and standards were never high. Nevertheless, the levels of literacy and numeracy gradually rose as the nineteenth century progressed in spite of the fact that the Army was unable to recruit men of a higher calibre. Generally one may surmise that the level of intelligence and ability of the Army recruit, apart from the period of conscription during the First World War, was inferior to that of his civilian counterpart. There was in the general public a mistrust of a standing army, and terms of service, living conditions and problems of employability on discharge all combined to make Army service an unpopular career. Few recruits had even the most basic knowledge of reading and writing, and more importantly, few had the inclination to remedy their deficiencies.

For those who regarded education as a means of merely keeping men out of trouble, the results were somewhat inconclusive. There is certainly evidence to show that the number of courts-martial arising out of drunkenness declined as the nineteenth century progressed, but the extent to which this can be attributed to education is not easy to determine. What it is probably fair to say is that it helped in this downward trend. Perhaps, ironically, the introduction of unit libraries, lectures and so on, intended originally to combat unruly behaviour and drunkenness, proved to be the most enlightened and imaginative methods adopted by the Army to further the cause of education. Although introduced with a utilitarian objective in view, they provided an incentive to read and thus constituted a step in the direction of general education as distinct from training.

Outside the range of informal educational activities, however, the military authorities made little attempt to promote the cultural aspects of adult education within the Army education scheme. Whilst civilian educationists were recognizing the need for a broad curriculum in adult education, the Army continued to concentrate upon a strictly functional one. One has to remember though, as already stated, that the Army is not primarily an educational institution and that the education it provided was orientated, above all else, towards assisting training. If a soldier wished to broaden his education there were, after all, libraries to visit and lectures to attend.

Perhaps a more serious failing was the Army's disinclination to accept any responsibility for education for resettlement. By concentrating on a military syllabus to the exclusion of areas of study acceptable and beneficial to civil life, the Army had produced a curriculum which was unrelated to one of its most serious problems, resettlement, on which recruitment depended. It would have been useful if a soldier had been taught a trade which would have helped him in his resettlement as well as being an inducement to recruitment, but little was done to provide an opportunity for a technical education outside the technical corps. This might have reflected a reluctance to fund such a programme but, more fundamentally, it merely reflected the general lack of interest of society in technical education.

Equally understandable and perhaps more excusable was the Army's failure to improve significantly the soldier's ability to think and act for himself. The importance attached to making the soldier more intelligent, more adaptable and more self-reliant had long been recognized by some commanders, such as Sir John Moore, in the early nineteenth century. Yet a century later, at the time of the Boer War, commanders complained of the absence of such qualities. It had become increasingly important, following developments in tactics that had arisen from technological advance, that soldiers and particularly NCOs be able to demonstrate independence of thought and action. By this time, at the turn of the twentieth century, it was equally apparent that

the threats to social stability that had been very real during the early decades of the nineteenth century had receded. Nevertheless, the Army realized that if it was to maintain discipline and cohesion it had to ensure that orders were obeyed and that there was no questioning of these orders. The dilemma posed for the authorities between, on the one hand, the need for intelligence and initiative and, on the other, the need not to question, is one that the Army has continued to face, although the value of the former has gradually taken precedence.

It was not until the latter stages of the First World War and the release period that followed that the scope of education in the Army widened significantly. In contrast to the nineteenth century concept of education which was devised primarily to promote the efficiency of the soldier, the wartime scheme was concerned with the education of men who just happened to be in an Army environment. The Army then was a truly citizen Army embracing a complete cross-section of the nation. While on active service many of them turned with relief to cultural and educational pursuits whenever the opportunities arose, and later all were eager to prepare for new occupations or to resume with fresh interest their old employments. The educationist had certain advantages: the cessation of hostilities created a vacuum which he was invited to fill, and time for study and semi-recreational activities was generously given. Education centres flourished and offered a wide choice of subjects from arithmetic to comparative religion. At this time the nation had the good fortune to have at its disposal distinguished academics and educationists such as H A L Fisher and Sir Henry Hadow, whose influence was entirely good. It was the hope of the newly-established Army Educational Corps in 1920 that these links would be maintained and this broader view of education would become the accepted and unchallenged one of the peace-time Army. Unfortunately, the momentum was lost in the years of depression and was not regained until the Second World War.

As far as educational provision for the pre-1914 Army was concerned, it might have been limited in scope, but within these

limits the authorities made every effort to ensure that such provision it did make was the best possible. Mention has already been made of the thorough training given to the Army schoolmaster. Attention was also paid to providing appropriate premises to serve as schoolrooms, libraries and reading rooms, and to furnishing them with suitable materials, although this was sometimes difficult, especially overseas. But, in addition, the authorities realized that all of these efforts would be to little or no avail unless the schoolmasters were given clear direction from the top and supervised at a local level in order to ensure that policy was implemented and standards maintained.

During the course of the nineteenth century the administration of Army schools became increasingly integrated into the mainstream of military education. Until the reforms of 1846 these schools remained essentially under regimental control except for intermittent visits by local chaplains. This clerical influence, such as it was, was formalized and extended when Gleig, the Chaplain-General, became the first Inspector-General of Army Schools. Though this was potentially a good integrating move, it foundered on the ever latent civilian versus military conflict, that is, between the War Office and the military establishment centred on Horse Guards, the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief. This conflict reached a climax during and after the Crimean War when Parliament called for an overhaul of officers' education, following the notorious display of incompetent military leadership during that war. The compromise that followed, the establishment of a Council of Military Education, under the immediate control of the Commander-in-Chief but answerable to the Secretary of State, did not initially include Army schools within its jurisdiction, though this rapidly followed in 1860. These developments signified not only the demise of clerical influence over elementary Army education but also the end of the schools' relative isolation in the larger world of military education. Now its interests would be represented at the highest level.

Below this, standards were maintained by a thorough system of inspection of Army schools and schoolmasters, which had its

origins in the days when Gleig was Inspector-General. The original nucleus of three assistant inspectors was gradually expanded until, by the 1870s, there was a group of sub-inspectors in each military district under the overall direction of A C Gleig, the Inspector of Army Schools and the nephew of the former Inspector-General. Although not a national figure like his uncle, Colonel Gleig's contribution to elementary education in the Army was considerable. As a member of the inspectorate for 25 years, he was able to provide continuity, and his knowledge of his subject also enabled him to provide sound advice to the Council of Military Education and its successor, the Director-General of Military Education. When Gleig retired in 1881, the Director-General paid tribute to his work and to the high state of efficiency of the Army's schools at that time. In some respects Gleig's departure was a watershed in Army education, for the rate of progress now began to slow down and any initiatives for change came from the civilian field. At a time when the pace of Army educational reform was negligible, civilian elementary education was growing apace. Not that all of these trends can be attributed to the loss of one man; their causes were rather the outcome, ironically, of a system that had done so much to promote Army education in the first place.

At the top those men responsible for the direction of Army schools were remote from them and knew very little about elementary education; indeed, it is unlikely that they had ever visited an Army school. This system might have worked if it had not been for the replacement of Gleig as Inspector of Army Schools by a series of staff officers who were also educationally inexperienced, at least at the elementary level, and who certainly possessed none of the expertise of the former Inspector-Generals of Army Education, Gleig and Lefroy, or the Inspector of Army Schools. These developments must have hampered the formulation of sound policy, which was further undermined by the repeated transfer of responsibility for Army schools from one department to another at the turn of the century. Following the abolition of the post of Director-General of Military Education in 1898, these schools moved first to the Adjutant-General's

Department, then to the Directorate of Training and Education until it was abolished, when they reverted back to the Adjutant-General's sphere of influence. It also meant that responsibility for Army schools was divorced, once again, from that for officers' education, thus fragmenting overall responsibility for military education as in the days prior to the establishment of the Council of Military Education. Furthermore, the branch of the Adjutant-General's Department responsible for Army schools was so small that power had to be delegated down the chain of command if the system was to keep going. These powers, however, resided with General Officers Commanding and not with the inspectors, who were the very people conversant with educational matters. This again seemed to be a backward step and one reminiscent of the days when commanding officers were solely responsible for the schools.

It is possible that even if the inspectors had been given more responsibility little would have changed, for they lacked the breadth of vision to examine critically the system. The Army inspector had probably spent most of his life inside an Army school, first as a student at one of the two military schools, then as a probationer, schoolmaster and, finally as inspector. He did not, therefore, possess the wider experience of life on which to draw. To some extent the military authorities recognized this, and closer links were forged between the Board of Education's Inspectorate and that of the Army. Nevertheless, there was no question of the former superseding the authority of the latter, and just how much impact the advice of the HMIs had on Army education is questionable. It is true that it did result in changes to the course at the training department of the Duke of York's School, where the curriculum was broadened and the trainee's time less rigidly supervised. This, however, had been a requirement of the Board of Education if Army schoolmasters were to be recognized in civilian circles as qualified teachers, and this was also essential if the Corps of Army Schoolmasters was to maintain the morale of its members and obtain sufficient recruits.

In general, the Army was slow to follow the changes taking place in the inspection of civilian elementary schools, made possible by the phasing out of the system of payment by results in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Although Army schools were not subjected to this system, the one that corresponded to it was equally rigorous and demanding, and had the same effect in stifling initiative and sapping morale. By the turn of the century, Army school regulations were beginning to reflect a more modern approach to education: a wider curriculum, a more pupil-centred method of teaching and a more liberal attitude to inspection. Nevertheless, there can be a considerable difference between what is stipulated as official policy and what actually takes place in practice, even in the Army. The regulations, for example, exhorted schoolmasters to adopt a more child-centred approach to teaching, but it is difficult to be convinced that they adjusted readily or quickly to this, any more no doubt than did their civilian colleagues. At the same time, although there was some expansion of the curriculum it remained much narrower than that provided in civilian schools. As already noted, this arose partly from the need for standardization but also from reasons of economy.

Throughout the period financial stringency had been a significant factor in determining what was to be provided for elementary education in the Army. It had led Gleig, for example, to advocate the dual-purpose chapel-schools in the 1840s, and had contributed to the arguments in favour of closing the Normal School at Chelsea in the late 1880s. By the last two decades of the nineteenth century it increasingly dominated reports on Army education and often formed part of their terms of reference. Furthermore, the expansion of civilian elementary education at this time made the authorities even less willing to spend money on Army schools. In military circles there grew an exaggerated belief in the benefits that would be derived from the expansion of civilian provision. This optimism, that civilian education would hasten the day when the need for elementary education in the Army would be a thing of the past, led to increasing parsimony and a further reluctance to expand and experiment.

There were undoubtedly weaknesses in the system, and with the advantage of hindsight and the perspective of a different age it is easy to identify what more might have been done. Arguably there were inevitable limitations on what could be achieved given the dual constraints of the educational level of the recruit and the views of society, including those of the military authorities, towards the education of the 'lower orders'. Whilst in some respects progressive, especially in their official support of regimental schools early in the nineteenth century, the military authorities broadly reflected the prevailing and generally conservative attitudes of society towards the education of the working classes. Nevertheless, taking the period as a whole there were very real achievements in the education of both the rank and file and their children.

Building upon the voluntary efforts of commanding officers, the reforms of 1812 established an organized system of education in the Army well before similar provision was made for civilian children. These and subsequent reforms undoubtedly contributed towards the steady if undramatic rise in the standards of elementary education in the Army during the remainder of the nineteenth century, as well as contributing to better standards of behaviour of the soldier. Equally important to note was the growing acceptance of education by the military community, something that was by no means so at the beginning of the period. Debates over when the soldier should receive his education and the level of that education continued, but by the close of the nineteenth century few would deny the importance of some education for the soldier or his child. The emphasis remained on its value to the Army, but increasingly its value to the individual, especially in its contribution to welfare, gained wider acceptance and reflected the fact that the Army was becoming more of a caring institution.

In all of this the Army schoolmaster played an important part. His outlook might have been narrow, although no less so than many of his civilian counterparts, but his upbringing and training enabled him to understand the military environment in which he

worked. He rarely complained, although he had much to complain about, and he undertook his duties with dedication and enthusiasm and not without a sense of humour. These qualities were tested to the full during the First World War when Army schoolmasters were excluded from participating in the emerging education scheme as well as active service, and their whole future seemed uncertain. The subsequent disbandment of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters and its replacement by the Army Educational Corps in 1920 might have seemed to some to reflect badly on the old Corps, but this was far from being the case. It was the realization by the authorities, during the war and its immediate aftermath, of the importance of Army education that had convinced them of the need for an enlarged educational organization with a wide remit. As with many new structures, the new builds upon the old, and so it was with Army education. A number of Army schoolmasters transferred to the Army Educational Corps and they brought with them knowledge and years of experience which were to be invaluable in the years ahead as the new Corps sought to establish itself. Over 50 years later, in 1972, one former member of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters who had transferred to the Army Educational Corps in 1920, attended the final lunch of the Ex-Army Schoolmasters' Association. Paying tribute to his old Corps, he borrowed from Kipling to give his final toast:

To the Corps that never was listed
That carried no colours or crest,
But, split in a hundred detachments
Was breaking the road for the rest.

APPENDICES

SECRETARIES-AT-WAR DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1801	Rt Hon Charles Yorke
1803	Rt Hon Charles Bathurst
1804	Rt Hon William Dundas
1806	Rt Hon Richard Fitzpatrick, General
1807	Sir J M Pulteney, Bart, Lieutenant-General
1809	Lord Granville Leveson-Gower (afterwards Earl Granville)
1809	Henry, Viscount Palmerston
1828	Colonel Sir Henry Hardinge (afterwards Viscount Hardinge)
1830	Lord Francis Leveson-Gower (afterwards Earl of Ellesmere)
1830	Rt Hon Charles W W Wynn
1831	Sir Henry Parnell, Bart (afterwards Lord Congleton)
1832	Sir John Hobhouse, Bart (afterwards Lord Broughton)
1833	Rt Hon Edward Ellice
1834	Rt Hon John C Herries
1835	Henry, Viscount Howick (afterwards Earl Grey)
1839	Rt Hon T B Macaulay (afterwards Lord Macaulay)
1841	Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Hardinge
1844	Sir Thomas F Fremantle, Bart
1845	Rt Hon Sidney Herbert (afterwards Lord of Lea)
1846	Rt Hon Fox Maule (afterwards Lord Panmure and Earl of Dalhousie)
1852	Rt Hon William Beresford
1852	Rt Hon Sidney Herbert
1855	Office merged with that of Secretary of State for War
1863	Office abolished by Act of Parliament

GENERAL ORDERS

HORSE GUARDS

1st January 1812

With a most earnest desire to give the fullest effect to the benevolent intentions of Government in favour of the Soldiers' Children, to which His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has, in the name and behalf of His Majesty, given the Royal Sanction, the Commander in Chief calls on all General Officers, Colonels of Regiments, and Commanding Officers of Corps, to take under their special superintendence the Regimental Schools belonging to their respective Commands; and His Royal Highness is persuaded, that, bearing in mind the important benefits which these Institutions, under proper guidance and management, are calculated to produce to the Individuals themselves, to the Army, and to the Nation in general, they will consider them as deserving their constant personal care and attention.

It will rest with the Children themselves, when arrived at a proper age, to adopt the line of life to which they give the preference; but it is extremely essential that their minds should be impressed with early habits of order, regularity, and discipline, derived from a well-grounded respect and veneration for the Established Religion of the Country. With this view, the Commander in Chief directs, that the Regimental Schools shall be conducted on Military principles; and that, as far as circumstances will permit, their establishment shall be assimilated to that of a Regiment, and formed on a system invented by the Rev. Dr Bell, which has been adopted with the most complete success at the Royal Military Asylum.

His Royal Highness has directed, that extracts shall be made from Dr Bell's "Instructions for Conducting a School, through the Agency of the Scholars themselves," which, having received Dr Bell's approbation, are subjoined, as the best directions His Royal Highness can give for the conduct of the Regimental Schools of the British Army.

It is necessary to observe, that, although, in the Instructions, Boys only are mentioned, yet the Female Children of the Soldiery are also intended to partake of the benefits of this system of education, wherever the accommodations, and other circumstances, will permit. The Commander in Chief considers it peculiarly incumbent on the Chaplains, and other Clergymen engaged in the Clerical Duties of the Army, to give their aid and assistance to the Military Officers in promoting the success of these Institutions, by frequently visiting the Regimental Schools, of their Divisions and Garrisons; by diligently scrutinizing the conduct of the Sergeant Schoolmasters; examining the progress and general behaviour of the Children; and reporting the result of their observations to the Commanding Officer of the Regiment.

It must ever be remembered, that the main purposes, for which the Regimental Schools are established, are, to give to the Soldiers the comfort of being assured, that the education and welfare of their Children are objects of their Sovereign's paternal solicitude and attention; and to raise from their Offspring a succession of Loyal Subjects, Brave Soldiers, and Good Christians.

By Order of
His Royal Highness
The Commander in Chief
HARRY CALVERT
Adjutant-General

Source: MOD Library

EXTRACTS FROM THE EXAMINATION PAPERS FOR CANDIDATES FOR
ADMISSION TO THE NORMAL SCHOOL, CHELSEA, JANUARY 1861

ARITHMETIC

1. Add all the following sums together:-

£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
321	19	11	432	9	5½	543	14	7
634	10	9¼	765	6	4	876	11	10½
864	13	4¼	531	9	11½	167	7	6
219	11	8¼	176	8	10	98	17	3½

2. The valued rents of a parish are £5,070.16s.8d. and the poor-rate on the whole is £405.13s.4d. What is the rate on £45.12s.9d?

3. The carriage of 150 feet of wood, weighing 3 stone per foot, was £3.10s. for 40 miles. What will be the cost of carrying 54 feet of marble, weighing 8 stone per foot, for 25 miles?

SCRIPTURE KNOWLEDGE

1. What was Noah's prophecy concerning his three sons? Who were the descendants of Canaan? and how were they settled?
2. Give a short account of Joseph; and show in what respects he was a type of the Lord Jesus Christ.
3. Give some instances of answers to prayer, both in the Old and the New Testament.

ENGLISH GRAMMAR

1. Give a definition and an example of each of the following parts of speech: Pronoun, adverb and preposition. Give an example of a common noun, of a proper noun, of an abstract noun, of a collective noun, of a numerical adjective, and of a distributive adjective.
2. Give a list of nouns having two distinct plural forms; and write down the plural of each of the following nouns:- hero, two, talisman, salmon, knight-errant, handful.
3. Explain the terms number, gender, and case. Give a few examples illustrative of the various ways in which the distinction of gender is expressed in the English language.

ENGLISH HISTORY

1. Relate briefly the history of Alfred the Great.
2. Name the Norman kings of England; state what claims each had to the throne; and give a short account of the way in which those claims were respectively enforced.
3. Mention the chief events of the reign of Henry VIII.
4. Give a short account of the life of Oliver Cromwell.
5. Assign an event to each of the following dates in English history: 449, 800, 1138, 1346, 1649, 1688, 1745.

GEOGRAPHY

1. Write the names of the continents, and of the principal chain of mountains in each continent.
2. State the general direction of the course of each of the following rivers: Thames, Seine, Ganges, Nile, Mississippi, Jordan. Arrange these names in a succession corresponding to the comparative lengths of the rivers.
3. Name one town situated on each of the rivers (except the last) mentioned in the second question.

Source: 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII, 1862, Appendix VI, no.1.

'THE SYSTEM OF STUDY AND INSTRUCTION TO BE FOLLOWED IN THE NORMAL SCHOOL OF THE ROYAL MILITARY ASYLUM', 1849

1. Pupils educated in the Training Institution at Chelsea shall be considered fit to pass into the Military School to practise the art of teaching when they have been sufficiently instructed in the following subjects:

- a. A general knowledge of the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.
- b. The English Language including the power of reading correctly any work in prose, etymology, grammar, composition and accuracy in spelling and punctuation.
- c. The History of England.
- d. The Histories of Greece and Rome.
- e. The Outlines of General History - Ancient and Modern - the former partially, the latter more in detail.
- f. Geography (Mathematical, physical and political), of the British Empire, e.g. Colonies and Dependencies.
- g. The descriptive Geography of the World with a general view of the physical features and political state of its several portions.
- h. The simplest Elements of Astronomy.
- i. Arithmetic.
- j. Four books of Euclid or else Tate's Geometry.
- k. Algebra as far as Equations.
- l. The elements of Mechanics, or rather the application of Mechanical powers, as taught by Tate.

To these may be added as being very attractive to British soldiers, the nature of whose Service in all parts of the World offers abundant opportunities of indulging the tastes:

- m. Natural History including Botany, Zoology and Mineralogy.
- n. Military Drawing and Field Fortifications.

Singing and Drawing are to be taught likewise, but both and especially the former, must be regarded as subsidiary to other

and more important matters - lessons in Singing twice a week and in Drawing once a week will, for the present, be sufficient.

2. The mode of communicating information on all these subjects, shall, as much as possible, be by oral lecture.

Gleig went on to give further details of the method of instruction:

3. He advised that the students should be divided into two departments and each department into two classes. He detailed which subject should be taken by the Headmaster and which by the Second Master, leaving Military Drawing and Fortification to be taught by the Adjutant. He considered that the Masters should 'so manage their lectures that a course complete in itself shall be comprised within each half-yearly term, on satisfactorily going through the lowest of which (and not before) the pupils shall be advanced to a higher course. The fourth half-year to be spent in learning how to teach'.

4. He advised the Masters to write out a course of lectures - 'so expressed as that in the delivery they shall interest and, as much as possible, excite the curiosity of the pupils. For a lecture lasting an hour, not more than half-an-hour should be given to the delivery of the lecture, the first half being devoted to an oral examination of the students' remembrance of the previous day's lecture'. At the end of each lecture they had to prescribe a text-book reading on the subject ... 'The pupils will thus be doubly instructed, first by the information which the Master communicated to them orally in the classroom and next by private studying and the examinations arising out of it. The Master will also carefully inspect their notebooks'.

Source: PRO WO 43/807, 16 May 1849.

NORMAL SCHOOL, ROYAL MILITARY ASYLUM, CHELSEA, TIMETABLE, 1849

	Classes	9-10	10-11	11-12	12-1	2-3	3-4	4-5
MONDAY	1st	Religious Instruction	Theme on some historical Subject	General History		Geography	Mechanics	Drawing
	2nd	Algebra	Geography	Arithmetic		English History	Reading & Grammar	"
	3rd	Composition	Religious Instruction	Writing		Arithmetic	Geography	"
TUESDAY	1st	Geometry	Algebra	Composition		Paper on arithmetic or Book Keeping	General History	Vocal Music
	2nd	Religious Instruction	Algebra	Geometry		Geography	Composition	" "
	3rd	Arithmetic	Religious Instruction	Roman History		English History	Reading & Grammar	" "
WEDNESDAY	1st	Arithmetic	Religious Instruction	Mechanics		Natural History	) ) ) ) ) Linear Drawing	
	2nd	Composition	Arithmetic	Religious Instruction		" "		
	3rd	English History	Geography	Composition		Greek History		

	Classes	9-10	10-11	11-12	12-1	2-3	3-4	4-5
THURSDAY	1st	Composition	Algebra	Geography		)Reading &)Etymology)))	English History	)Fortifica-)tion or)Military)Drawing
	2nd	Geometry	Roman History	English History			Geography	
	3rd	Religious Instruction	Reading & Etymology	Arithmetic		Geometry	Geography	English History
FRIDAY	1st	Geometry or Logs	) ) ) (Fortifica-) (tion or) (military) (Drawing	Astronomy		General History)))))))	
	2nd	Religious Instruction	)	Greek History		Geography	Singing	
	3rd	Reading & Etymology	Religious Instruction	Geometry		Reading & Grammar		
SATURDAY	1st	Examinations	) ) ) ) )	Vocal Music				
	2nd							
	3rd							

WINTER MONTHS

12 - 1 o'clock - Drill
5 - 6 " - Recreation
6 - 7 " - Supper
7 - 9.30 " - Private Study
& Reading

SUMMER MONTHS

12 - 1 o'clock - Recreation
5 - 6 " - Gymnastics
6 - 7 " - Recreation
7 - 7.45 " - Supper
7.45 - " - Private Study
9.30 & Reading

ESTABLISHMENTS, INCREASES AND DECREASES IN FORCES, 1859 - 98

Year	Establishment as of 1 January	Effectives on 1 January	Number Supernumary
1859	217,726	204,079	-
1861	202,040	201,015	-
1862	194,271	189,968	-
1864	192,153	188,025	-
1866	182,468	176,731	-
1868	172,633	172,014	-
1870	161,150	157,017	-
1872	171,029	166,985	-
1874	161,031	162,079	1,048
1876	160,537	159,640	-
1878	164,877	166,366	1,489
1880	164,115	167,909	3,794
1882	163,401	165,655	2,254
1884	165,386	158,029	-
1886	180,130	176,865	-
1888	186,180	186,839	659
1890	189,426	185,432	-
1892	191,348	186,447	-
1894	190,690	193,896	3,206
1896	192,054	195,980	3,926
1898	195,304	194,705	-

Source: Skelley A R, The Victorian Army at Home (1977), p.321.

THE OCCUPATION BEFORE ENLISTMENT OF MEN SERVING WITH
THE BRITISH REGULAR ARMY ON 1 JANUARY 1860

	Number	Percent
Rural workers	31,802	15.5
Artisans	26,959	13.1
Domestic workers	12,942	6.3
Professional/semi professional	4,922	2.4
Industrial workers	74,305	37.6
Semi-skilled tradesmen	30,894	14.8
Other	20,684	10.1
None	-	-
TOTAL	202,508	100.0

THE PREVIOUS CIVILIAN OCCUPATIONS OF RECRUITS APPROVED
BY THE ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT FOR MILITARY SERVICE,
1862-98

<u>Expressed as a Percentage of the Total Accepted for Military Service</u>						
<u>Year</u>	<u>Labourers</u>	<u>Artisans</u>	<u>Mechanics</u>	<u>Shopmen/ Clerks</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Boys</u>
1862	52.8	9.9	22.9	7.5	1.3	5.6
1868	57.2	13.9	18.6	7.1	0.8	2.3
1871	63.9	8.0	18.2	7.7	0.8	1.4
1874	61.9	11.6	17.6	5.8	0.8	2.2
1877	62.0	10.8	17.7	6.9	1.1	1.6
1880	62.5	12.8	16.7	6.7	1.0	2.2
1883	59.6	14.2	16.0	5.3	1.3	3.7
1886	63.6	14.4	12.1	5.8	1.3	2.9
1889	64.2	15.0	11.7	6.2	1.4	3.7
1892	65.9	13.1	11.2	5.3	1.1	3.4
1895	64.4	14.0	10.2	6.2	1.3	3.9
1898	65.7	12.9	9.5	7.0	0.9	3.9

Source: Skelley A R, The Victorian Army at Home (1977), pp.296-297.

PROVISIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF BOOKS AND SUBJECTS FOR ADULT SCHOOLS, 1857

<p><u>CLASSES</u></p> <p>Lowest or 4th Class No Payment Required</p> <p>Men learning to read and write; learning the four rules of arithmetic, simple and compound; with the elements of geography and English history. This Class should also begin writing from dictation.</p>	<p>War Office, 29 July 1857</p> <p><u>BOOKS SUITABLE FOR EACH CLASS</u></p> <p>First Reading Book. My First School Book. My Second School Book. First Book of Geography. First Book of Poetry. McLeod's Arithmetic. English History - Part I.</p>
<p>TO PAY SCHOOL FEES</p> <p>3rd Class</p> <p>Men who can read tolerably; write a little from dictation; can work questions in weights and measures, ratios, simple proportion and vulgar and decimal fractions; have made some progress in geography and history, sacred and profane.</p>	<p>Explanatory English Grammar. English History - Part II. Geography of British Empire. McLeod's Arithmetic. Second Book of Poetry. Sacred History - Part I and II. History of the Colonies, or History of India.</p>
<p>2nd Class</p> <p>Men who read freely; write from dictation; can do vulgar and decimal fractions; practice, simple and compound proportion and interest; are advancing to algebra; are acquainted with the elements of English, colonial, and sacred history, and with the geography of the British empire.</p>	<p>History of India, or History of British Colonies. History of Rome or Greece, at discretion. Sacred History, Part I and II. Geography for Beginners. McLeod's Arithmetic. Reynold's Algebra. Elements of Book-Keeping. Grammar, by lecture, and parsing any book they read. May be taught Fortification.</p>

<p>1st Class</p> <p>Men who are acquainted with reading, writing, arithmetic, elements of grammar; elements of history and general geography; are advancing to simple equations, elements of Euclid, and mechanics.</p>	<p>Any of the more advanced Histories.</p> <p>Colenso's Arithmetic.</p> <p>Reynold's Algebra.</p> <p>First Book Euclid.</p> <p>Tate's Mechanics.</p> <p>Book-keeping.</p> <p>Fortification.</p> <p>English Composition.</p> <p>Book of Health.</p> <p>Hughes's General Geography.</p> <p>Annals of the Wars.</p>
<p>Advanced Class</p> <p>It is not expected that an "Advanced Class" will often be found at present in Regiments of the Line. The Class will have done all that is ascribed to the First Class. It will be advancing beyond the First Book of Euclid; be in mensuration and mechanics, and be reading any of the advanced books of history and geography.</p>	<p>Euclid-I, II, III Books.</p> <p>Tate's Treatises.</p> <p>Colenso's Arithmetic.</p> <p>Colenso's Algebra.</p> <p>History at discretion.</p> <p>Geography.</p> <p>Fortification.</p> <p>Book-keeping.</p> <p>Book of Health.</p> <p>Annals of the Wars.</p>

Source: The Lefroy Report, 1859, pp.12-13.

ARMY CERTIFICATES OF EDUCATION, 1860

V.R.
FIRST CLASS
SCHOOL CERTIFICATE

I certify that _____

of No. _____ Company _____

Regiment, can Write a Letter in a good hand with
Correct Spelling, Grammar, and Composition; is
thoroughly Master of Vulgar and Decimal Fractions;
and in general Subjects, Geography, History, &c.,
is well informed.

Commanding Officer

Schoolmaster

V.R.
SECOND CLASS
SCHOOL CERTIFICATE

I certify that _____

of No. _____ Company _____

Regiment, is a good Reader; can Write well, fluently,
and with Correct Spelling from Dictation; is
thoroughly Master of the Four Elementary Rules of
Arithmetic, Simple and Compound; and has a fair
acquaintance with Geography.

Commanding Officer

Schoolmaster

V.R.
THIRD CLASS
SCHOOL CERTIFICATE

I certify that _____

of No. _____ Company _____

Regiment can Read tolerably, Write a little from
Dictation, and is thoroughly Master of the Four
Simple Rules of Arithmetic.

Commanding Officer

Schoolmaster

Source: 1st Report by the C.M.E., 1862, P.P., XXXII,
1862, pp.vi-vii.

LEVELS OF LITERACY 1858-68: A COMPARATIVE TABLE

<u>Class</u>	1858		1868	
	Numbers returned	Percentage	Numbers returned	Percentage
1. Who can neither read nor write.	30,621	20.5	15,207	9.46
2. Who can read but not write.	26,667	18.8	15,263	10.59
3. Who can read and write.	79,399	56.0	127,959	73.80
4. Who have a superior degree of education.	5,271	4.7	10,283	6.14

Sources: The Lefroy Report, 1859, p.6 & 6th Report by the C.M.E., 1870, P.P., XXV, 1870, p.viii.

ARMY CERTIFICATES OF EDUCATION: SUBJECTS AND SCOPE, CLASSES 1 TO 4, 1882

FIRST CLASS		SECOND CLASS		THIRD CLASS		FOURTH CLASS	
SUBJECT	SCOPE	SUBJECT	SCOPE	SUBJECT	SCOPE	SUBJECT	SCOPE
Reading	From one of the most advanced school books.	Reading	From 'Royal Reader' no.V, or other book of similar standard.	Reading	From 'Royal Reader' no.III, or other book of similar standard.	Reading	From 'Royal Reader' no.II, or book of similar standard.
Writing to Dictation	" "	Writing to Dictation	" "	Writing to Dictation	" "	Writing	To transcribe about 70 words from easy piece in Standard II.
Official letter & Precis Writing	From data furnished by the examiner.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arithmetic	The whole subject.	Arithmetic	Reduction, simple Practice and proportion, decimal or vulgar fractions, Regimental Accounts.	Arithmetic	Compound rules and reduction of money.	Arithmetic	Numeration to 100,000, and the four simple rules.
Extra Subject eg: English history, general geography, algebra, drawing, chemistry, a modern language.		-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Army School Regulations, 1882, para.104.

SECOND CLASS CERTIFICATE OF ARMY EDUCATION AND STANDARD V: A COMPARATIVE TABLE, 1893

Subject	2nd-Class Certificate	Standard V
Dictation	100 words of orders	About 100 words from reading book.
Composition	None	Reproduction of a short story read.
Arithmetic	Multiplication and division of money. Reduction of weights and measures. Practice (simple) Simple proportion Simple, vulgar, and decimal fractions. Regimental accounts.	) ) Taken up in previous standard at) 10 years of age.)) Practice. Simple proportion and bills of parcels. Addition and subtraction of vulgar fractions. None.
English	None	English grammar.
Geography	None	Geography (British Isles and Colonies).
History	None	English history.

Source: 5th Report by the D.G.M.E., 1893, P.P.,XVI, 1893-4, p.7.

ARMY CERTIFICATES OF EDUCATION: SUBJECTS AND SCOPE, CLASSES 1 TO 3, 1888

FIRST CLASS		SECOND CLASS		THIRD CLASS	
SUBJECT	SCOPE	SUBJECT	SCOPE	SUBJECT	SCOPE
Reading	-	Reading	-	Reading	From a book of easy narratives, such as 'Royal Reader' no.III.
Writing to dictation	A passage from any standard author.	Writing to Dictation	Extracts from Regimental, District or Army Orders.	Writing to Dictation	From 'Royal Reader' no.III, or other book of easy narratives.
Copying MS	Making a fair copy of a rough draft.	-	-	-	-
Arithmetic	The whole subject.	Arithmetic	Reduction, simple practice and proportion, vulgar and decimal fractions, regimental accounts.	Arithmetic	Compound rules and reduction of money.
English history	Emphasis on 19th century.	-	-	-	-
Geography	Emphasis on British Isles, India and the Colonies.	-	-	-	-

Source: Army School Regulations, 1888, para.104.

ARMY CERTIFICATES OF EDUCATION: SUBJECTS AND SCOPE, CLASSES 1 TO 3, 1906

FIRST CLASS		SECOND CLASS		THIRD CLASS	
SUBJECT	SCOPE	SUBJECT	SCOPE	SUBJECT	SCOPE
Arithmetic	The whole subject, prominence being given to problems.	Arithmetic	Reduction, simple practice and proportion, vulgar and decimal fractions, military percentages, average and proportional parts, simple superficial and cubic measure, and regimental accounts.	Arithmetic	Compound rules and reduction of money reduction of avoirdupois weight, and linear measure, a simple messing account, simple addition and subtraction of vulgar fractions in concrete form, L.C.D. not to exceed 20.
Composition	The substance of a passage of English prose, to be written by the candidate in simple language.	Composition	To describe in simple language any common object or any incident which the candidates have seen, or any place which they have visited.	Composition	A simple letter of not less than 70 words to a parent or friend.
-	-	Writing from Dictation	Extracts from Regimental, Command or Army Orders.	Writing from Dictation	Extracts from Regimental Orders.
Map Reading	A Knowledge of the four cardinal points and of the four intermediate points of the compass.	-	-	-	-
English history	From 1688, plus a campaign or biography.	-	-	-	-
Geography	General Knowledge of the positions & sizes of the continents, oceans & leading countries of the world. Detailed knowledge of the British Empire. Sufficient knowledge of the movement of the Earth to understand the variations in time, the seasons & climates.				

Source: Army School Regulations, 1906, Section V, para.136.

CLASSIFICATION OF BOOKS AND SUBJECTS FOR CHILDREN'S SCHOOLS

War Office, 1 September 1857

Lowest or 4th Class

1. Writing.
2. Mental Arithmetic: I. Exercise McLeod's Mental Arithmetic.
3. Slate Arithmetic: Notation and Numeration.
4. First Reading Book.
5. My First School Book.

3rd Class

1. Writing.
2. Mental Arithmetic: Exercises II and III.
3. Slate Arithmetic, Simple and compound Rules.
4. Spelling, by Transcribing or Dictation.
5. First Book of Geography.
6. McLeod's Grammar, Part I.
7. Simple Truths.
8. My Second School Book.

2nd Class

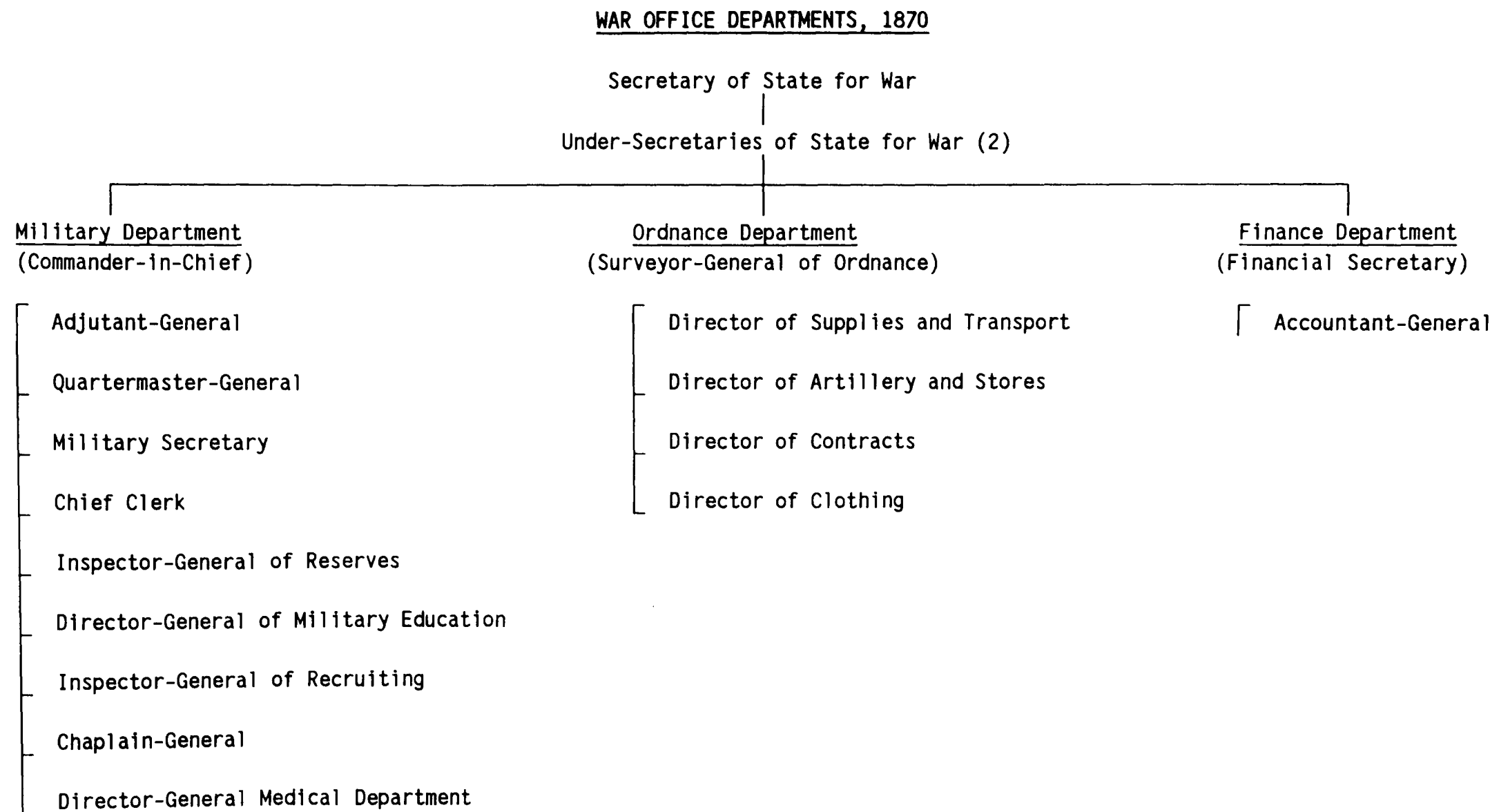
1. Writing.
2. Mental Arithmetic: Exercises IV and V.
3. Slate Arithmetic: Reduction, Weights and Measures, Ratios, Proportions.
4. Writing from Dictation.
5. First Book of Geography.
6. McLeod's Grammar: Parts I and II.
7. English History: Part I.
8. Scripture History: Part I.
9. First Book of Poetry.

1st Class

1. Writing.
2. Mental Arithmetic: Exercises VI, &c.
3. Slate Arithmetic: Fractions, Decimals, Practice, &c.
4. Writing from Dictation.
5. Composition.
6. McLeod's Grammar.
7. Geography of British Empire.
8. Geography of Palestine.
9. English History: Part II.
10. Scripture History: Part II.
11. History of British Colonies.
12. Second Book of Poetry.

(Music and object lessons should be given once or twice a week and drawing occasionally).

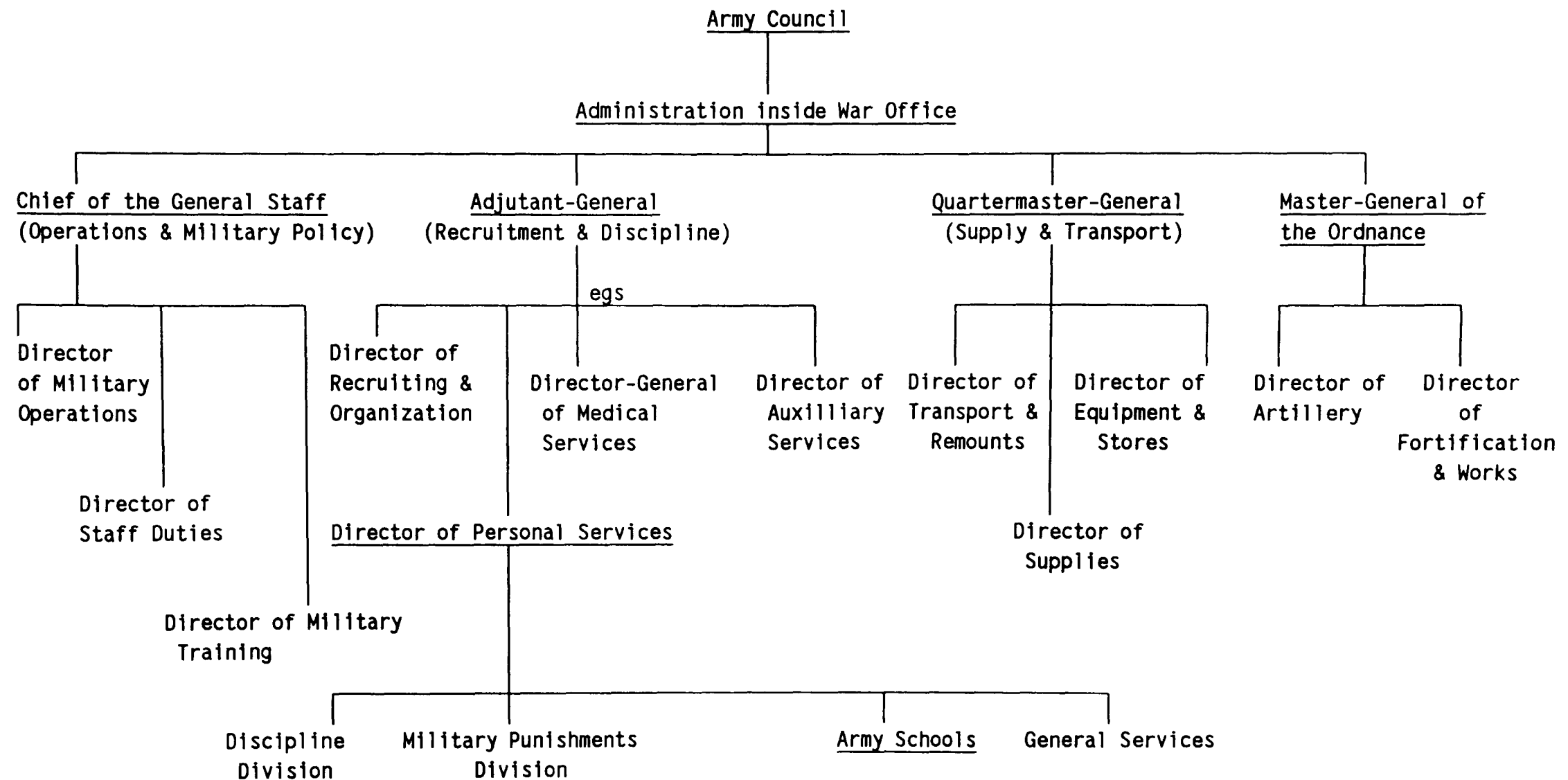
Source: The Lefroy Report, 1859, pp. 34-36.



Source: War Office List and Directory of Administrative Departments of the British Army, 1871.

THE ESHER REFORMS, 1904

Secretary of State for War



Source: War Office List and Directory of Administrative Departments of the British Army, 1905.

WAR OFFICE ORGANIZATION, 1893

Secretary of State for War (small Central Office)

2 great departments of War Office

Military Department

Commander-in-Chief

1. Appointed by the Crown on the nomination of the Cabinet.
2. Responsible for the personnel of the Army, Militia, Yeomanry and Reserves: for raising each force; training; arms; clothing; food and lodging; discipline.

AG

10 DIVISIONS

1. AG's Division
2. QM's Division
3. Military Secretary's Division
4. Works Division
5. Armaments Division
6. Military Intelligence Division
7. Medical Division
8. Military Education Division
9. Chaplain General's Division
10. Veterinary Division

Civil Department

Financial Secretary

1. Appointed by the Secretary of State himself.
2. Responsible for production in its widest sense: arms, stores & equipment; payment of troops and all expenses. All estimates and expenditure.

DGME

(General Sir W O Lennox)

Officers' Education Subdivision

(ME1)

Assistant Director (Colonel A M Delavoye)

Professional education and examination of officers, including the Staff College, Royal Military College, Sandhurst and Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.

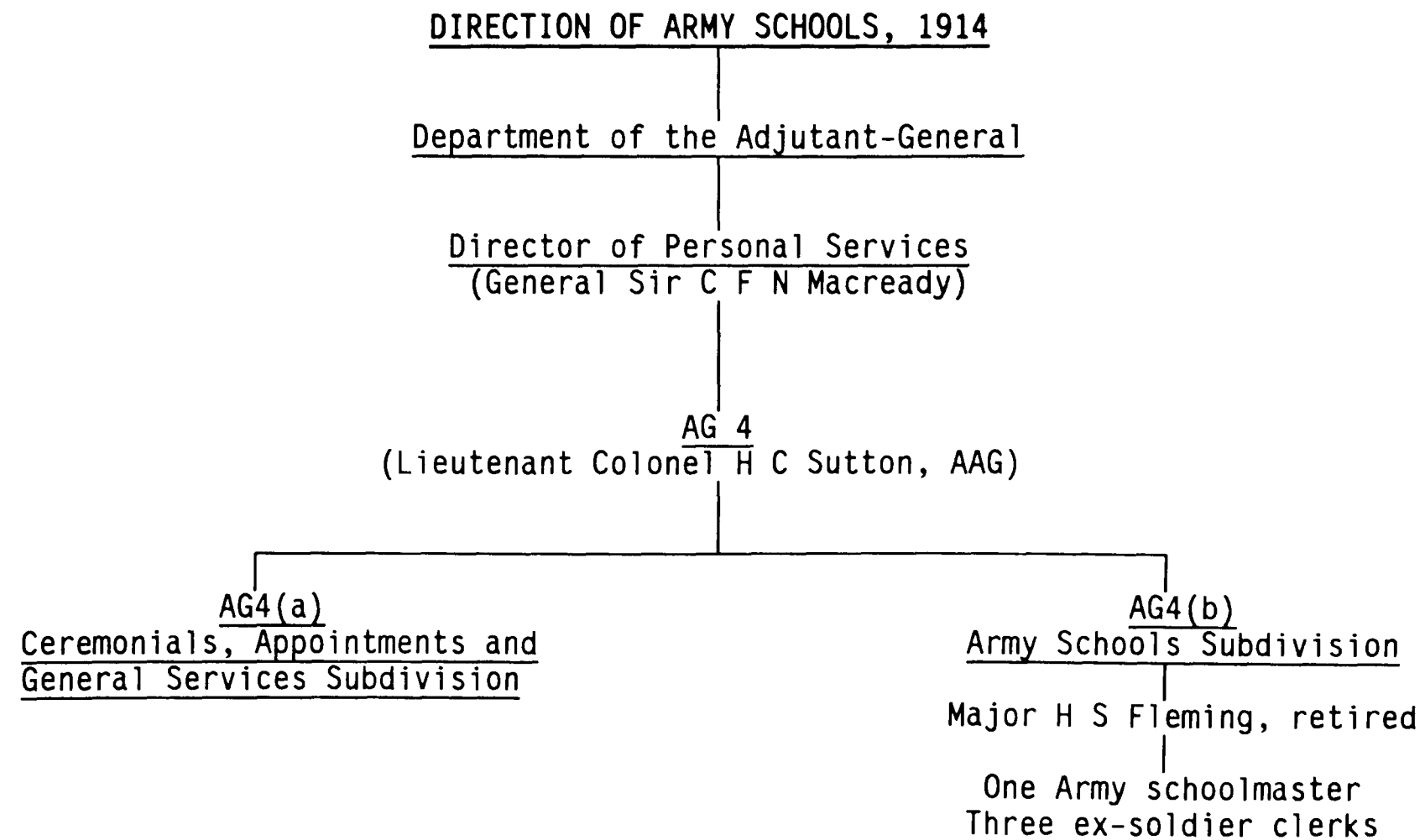
Soldiers' Education Subdivision

(ME2)

Director of Army Schools (Colonel D F Jones)

Education and examination of WOs, NCOs and soldiers and their children. Supervision of the 2 military boarding schools, and garrison libraries. Appointment of teachers and librarians. Civil school fees.

Source: War Office List and Directory of Administrative Departments of the British Army, 1893.



Source: War Office List and Directory of Administrative Departments of the British Army, 1914.

INSPECTION OF ARMY SCHOOLS AT HOME, 1865			
Inspection Division	I: London, Aldershot, South East Military District, Woolwich, Chatham and Colchester.	II: Scotland, the Northern, Western and South-Western Military Districts.	III: Ireland.
Assistant Inspector	Lieutenant Colonel A C Gleig RA	Mr J P Sargeant	Mr E A Vicars
Superintending Schoolmasters	Aldershot: J Grant Shorncliffe: J Belling	Edinburgh: G Robertson Portsmouth: R Kirk Plymouth: W Savage	Dublin: A Barnes Curragh: J Newsom
Schools: Adult Grown Children's Infant and industrial Total	 58 58 <u>59</u> 175	 39 43 <u>37</u> 119	 37 35 <u>34</u> 106

Source: 3rd Report by the C.M.E., 1865, P.P., XLIV, 1866, p.vi - vii.

EXAMINATIONS FOR ARMY CERTIFICATES OF EDUCATION: ALLOCATION OF MARKS, 1888

Class	Subject	Extent	Marks		
			Full	Qualify- ing Minimum	Qualifying Aggregate
1st	(Writing to Dictation	(A passage (Handwriting (from any ()100 (standard () (author. (Spelling ... 60)	40)	20))
	(Arithmetic	The whole subject	100	60	) 330
	(Copying MS	Making a fair copy of a rough draft.	100	50)
	(English History ..	... ..	100	50)
	(Geography ... ..	... ..	100	50)
2nd	(Writing to Dictation	Extracts from (Handwriting Regimental ()100	40)	50)
	(Arithmetic	District, or () Army Orders. (Spelling ... 60) Reduction, simple practice and proportion, vulgar and decimal fractions, Regimental Accounts.	100	50	)120
3rd	(Reading	From a book of easy narra- tives such as "Royal Reader" No.III.	100	60)
	(Writing to Dictation	From "Royal (Handwriting Reader" No. ()	40)		)150
	(Arithmetic	III., or other()100		50)
		book of easy ())
		narratives. (Spelling ... 60))
		Compound rules and reduction of money.	50	30	

Source: Army School Regulations, 1888, Part IV, para. 104.

SPECIAL ARMY CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION

This is to certify that

has attended courses of instruction, and has passed an examination at the advanced standard, in the following subjects:

(1) Group A (a) English
 (b) Arithmetic or Elementary Mathematics
 (c) Civics, History or Geography

(2) Optional Subjects selected from Group B to F.

(Signed))
)
 )
)
 )

Education Officer

Students had to pass in a minimum of one and a maximum of three from Groups B to F:

Group B - Languages and History

English language and literature, with special reference to either (a) Shakespeare, or (b) typical authors of the 19th century; English History, European History, Imperial History; Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German.

Group C - Political Economy

Economics and Industrial History

Group D - Pure Science

Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Zoology, Geology,
Magnetism and Electricity.

Group E - Mathematics

Group F - Technical and Applied Science

Elementary Mechanics, Theory of Internal Combustion Engines,
Theory of Mechanical Engineering, Theory of Electrical
Engineering, Machine Drawing, Building Construction.

has attended courses of instruction, and has passed an examination at the advanced standard, in the following subjects:

- (1) Group A
 - (a) English
 - (b) Arithmetic or Elementary Mathematics
 - (c) Civics, History or Geography
- (2) Optional Subjects selected from Group B to F.

(Signed))
.....)
.....)
.....)
.....)

.....
Education Officer

Students had to pass in a minimum of one and a maximum of three from Groups B to F:

Group B - Languages and History

English language and literature, with special reference to either (a) Shakespeare, or (b) typical authors of the 19th century; English History, European History, Imperial History; Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German.

Group C - Political Economy

Economics and Industrial History

Group D - Pure Science

Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Zoology, Geology,
Magnetism and Electricity.

Group E - Mathematics

Group F - Technical and Applied Science

Elementary Mechanics, Theory of Internal Combustion Engines,
Theory of Mechanical Engineering, Theory of Electrical
Engineering, Machine Drawing, Building Construction.

Source: Army Order, no.3, WO, 9 December 1918, Educational Training in the Army.

ARMY CERTIFICATES OF EDUCATION
(To come into effect on 1 July 1921)

1. Four certificates will be awarded on the results of examinations of progressively higher standards, named respectively Third, Second, First Class, and Special Army Certificates of Education.

2. For the Third Class certificates candidates must pass in:

- (a) Reading
- (b) Writing
- (c) Arithmetic
- (d) Elementary History and Citizenship

3. For the Second Class certificate candidates must pass in:

- (a) English
- (b) Mathematics
- (c) Imperial History and Citizenship
- (d) Either (1) A Language (Elementary standard), or (2) At least one subject in Groups H to M, as set out hereunder:

Group H - (Agriculture)

- (1) Gardening. (2) The keeping of Bees or any kind of Farm Stock.

Group I - (Handyman)

- (1) Boot-repairing. (2) Tailoring. (3) Cooking. (4) Horse-shoeing.
- (5) Haircutting. (6) Motor-repairing. (7) Carpentry.
- (8) Painting and Glazing. (9) Building. (10) Any other handi-craft.

Group J

- (1) Musical Instrument Playing. (2) Singing (Elementary Theory and Practice). (3) Drawing.

Group K

- (1) Hygiene and Sanitation. (2) First Aid.

Group L

- (1) Shorthand. (2) Typewriting.

Group M

- (1) Geometrical and Mechanical Drawing.

Those who are aiming at the Special Certificate are advised to include Elementary French or other language in the examination for the Second Class Certificate.

4. For the First Class certificate candidates must pass in:

- (a) English
- (b) Mathematics
- (c) Geography and Map Reading
- (d) (Optional) A Language. If this examination is passed the fact will be recorded on the Certificate.

5. For the Special Certificate candidates must pass in:

- (a) English
- (b) Mathematics
- (c) An Ancient or Modern Language
- (d) Any two single subjects (but candidates may not offer themselves for examination in more than three) from the following groups:

Group A

- (1) Imperial History. (2) A Period of Modern or Ancient History.
- (3) Geography and Map Reading. (4) Economics and Citizenship.

Group B

Languages (Ancient and Modern).

Group C

Logic.

Group D

- (1) Mechanics. (2) Chemistry. (3) Physics (Sound, Light and Heat).
- (4) Physics (Electricity and Magnetism). (5) Botany.
- (6) Zoology. (7) Geology. (8) Physiology.

Group E

- (1) Civil Engineering. (2) Mechanical Engineering. (3) Electrical Engineering. (4) Agricultural Chemistry.

Group F

- (1) Theory and Practice of Commerce. (2) Accountancy. (3) Commercial Law.

Group G

- (1) Theory and Practice of Music. (2) Drawing and History of Art.

Source: Regulations for Army Certificates of Education (to come into operation on 1st July 1921).

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2. Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.
3. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
4. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
5. Royal Army Chaplains' Department Centre, Bagshot Park, Surrey.
6. MOD Library, 3-5 Great Scotland Yard, London.
7. The Royal Army Educational Corps Archives, Wilton Park, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
8. The National Society Record Office, Bermondsey, London.
9. Private Correspondence.

B. OFFICIAL ARMY PUBLICATIONS

1. Orders and Circulars.
2. Regulations and Instructions.
3. Royal Warrants.
4. Manuals.
5. The War Office List and Directory of Administrative Departments of the British Army.

C. REPORTS AND INSTRUCTIONS

1. Reports on Military Education.
2. Reports on Civilian Education.
3. Instructions to Inspectors.
4. Other Reports.

- D. PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
- E. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS
- F. JOURNALS AND PERIODICALS
- G. CONTEMPORARY BOOKS
- H. NEWSPAPERS
- I. UNPUBLISHED MEMOIRS

SECONDARY SOURCES

- A. BOOKS
- B. JOURNALS AND PERIODICALS
- C. UNPUBLISHED THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

PRIMARY SOURCES

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